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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

MR. EVERETT ON THE BROOKS OUTRAGE.

From The National Intelligencer, May 14.

MESSRS. GALES & SEATON: I see in a late number of *The Republic* an injurious paragraph devoted to this distinguished statesman and patriot. The following letter, addressed to a friend, in reference to certain strictures upon his course in regard to the unfortunate Brooks and Sumner difficulty, sufficiently refutes the charge insinuated in that paper. I am sure you will gratify the large number of your readers by its publication. H.

MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS, October 31.

DEAR SIR: I have received your friendly letter of the 19th of September, enclosing a cutting from the Knoxville *Register* of the 17th, and another from the Knoxville *Whig*, containing the card of Mr. Sneed. The subject revives painful recollections, but it remains to me a duty, in compliance with your request, to acquaint you with the facts of the case.

When the intelligence of the assault on Mr. Sumner, in the Senate of the United States, reached Boston, it produced an excitement in the public mind deeper and more dangerous than I have ever witnessed. It was the opinion of some persons that if a leader, daring and reckless enough, had presented himself, he might have raised any number of men to march on Washington. By reflecting men the deplorable act was regarded as the "beginning of the end"; the spark which was but too likely to kindle the train whose explosion would rend the Union. Letters from Washington informed us that the members had generally armed themselves; and if the predictions received by me from an impartial source had been fulfilled, and the crack of the revolver been heard all round the House of representatives, the event would have been inevitable.

Immediately on the receipt of the intelligence an indignation meeting was called in Faneuil Hall, which I was invited to attend. Not disposed to quit the retirement from political life caused by ill-health a year before—believing, also, that additional excitement was to be deprecated—I declined to attend the meeting. It was, however, attended and addressed by very sound, conservative men. In the course of the following week, having occasion to repeat my address "on the character of Washington," I prefaced it with a few remarks on the recent occurrences, the object of which was to impart a more chastened and sober temper to the fiery indignation which pervaded the community. These remarks were extensively quoted and approved in conservative journals, both North and South. They are the same which are alluded to in the closing paragraph of Mr. Sneed's card. I enclose you a copy of them.

A day or two after the appearance of these remarks in the public papers, a young friend, after expressing his cordial approbation of them, requested me to subscribe to a testimonial proposed to be tendered to Mr. Sumner. He did not show me the paper, nor mention in whole or in part the terms in which it was to be expressed. Supposing that it would accord in spirit with my own remarks just alluded to, I felt it a duty, in order to avoid misconception in the existing state of the public mind, to comply with his request, which I accordingly agreed to do. The paper was sent up to me at a very early hour the next morning in my bedroom, where, from ill-health, I had passed a bad night, and was still under the influence of ether repeatedly inhaled as an anodyne. It was engrossed on a very stiff sheet, rolled up, the lower end outward. I unrolled it up to the names already subscribed; those which struck my eye were of judicious and reflecting persons; and without reading or seeing the caption I signed my name. This, of course, was a great indiscretion, but of a kind perhaps not unnatural under the circumstances of my illness. This is the paper given at length in Mr. Sneed's card.

As soon as I saw it the next day, in the public prints, I informed the young gentleman who had procured my signature that I could not have signed the paper had I been aware of the spirit in which it was drafted and the terms in which it was expressed. I made the same statement to numerous friends and correspondents in different parts of the country. I furnished a memorandum to the above effect to the editor of the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, to be published when he should think it proper. I authorized two friends in the Senate of the United States to make the necessary explanation, should the subject be alluded to in that body, as I thought it possibly might be; and as soon as Mr. Sumner's health was sufficiently restored to make it proper to do so, I wrote to him to the same effect.

Others who subscribed the paper did it, as I am informed, either without reading it at all or so hastily as not to be well aware of its character. When a meeting of the subscribers was called, it was agreed, partly, as I understood, for this reason, and in accordance with the expressed wishes of Mr. Sumner, to take no further steps in the premises, and to apply the sums subscribed to the relief of the sufferers in Kansas, which was accordingly done. This meeting was held at a time when I was absent at Newport, but I fully approved its doings. I ought to add that it is well known that I have condemned from the outset, and still most decidedly condemn, the policy of the late Administration toward Kansas. I opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill in the Territorial Committee, of which I was a member. I voted against the amendment to the bill, by which the Missouri Compromise was repealed. I opposed the bill, to the best of my ability, in a speech delivered in the Senate on the 8th of February, 1854, of which I send you a copy; and I should have voted against it on its passage (as I stated in my place at the next meeting of the Senate) had not severe illness compelled me, at half-past three o'clock in the morning, to leave the Senate chamber before the vote was taken. I informed my Southern political friends, when the bill was brought in, that it ought to be entitled a bill to "annihilate all conservative feeling in the non-slaveholding States."

With these views of the subject, though, as I trust, for reasons higher than any effect on party politics, I fully concurred in the main line of argument in Mr. Sumner's speech. Abstaining, however, habitually myself from all personalities in debate, and believing that they always irritate, and never persuade nor convince, I could not, of course, bestow my "unqualified approbation" on the manner in which he treated the subject, nor intentionally give my sanction to the violent and offensive language of the subscription paper alluded to, and inadvertently signed by me.

In conclusion, I think it would be a sadly unprofitable task to endeavor to trace the successive steps of that mischievous action and reaction of North and South upon each other, which has brought the country into its present dangerous position, where a few more steps forward in the path of mutual exasperation will be fatal to the Union. The ground on which I have endeavored to stand is well known—it is that of conciliation, in the spirit of the Constitution.

I certainly shall not be suspected of seeking apologies for the manner in which the existing sectional agitation is carried on at the North, one feature of which has been a most violent and unrelenting warfare against myself; and which is even now seeking to load me with obloquy for not dragging the name of Washington into the vortex of this embittered controversy. But truth compels me to say that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the subsequent events in Kansas, and the assault on Mr. Sumner, have done more than anything else—more than all other things put together—to furnish material and give effect to that agitation, and to paralyze all conservative resistance to it.

For the same reasons which have led me to furnish you with the foregoing explanation, you have my permission to make any use of it you may think expedient.

I remain, dear sir, with friendly regard, yours, truly,

EDWARD EVERETT.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.—This body were in session during the day and evening yesterday. A charge of ten cents was made for admission, but about 600 persons were present last Thursday. Wendell Phillips made a long speech on the general subject. He showed himself most distinctly to be a thorough-going infidel, and it was evident from the reception his sentiments met that many of his audience were attracted by curiosity, and were shocked to hear his ribald statements. We have been accustomed to consider Mr. Phillips as a man of genius, but he indulged in statements so barefaced and sophistries so palpable that any sensible child could have seen their absurdity. It was evident, also, that he spoke from a love of speaking, and enjoyed exceedingly hearing himself talk.—*Journal of Commerce.*

INDIGNATION MEETING.

THE Church of the Puritans in this city was crowded last Thursday with an audience eager to join in the denunciations of the American Tract Society, on account of its recent glorious triumph. As we sat by the side of the pulpit and surveyed the assembly, we could not see one layman whom we had ever seen before—not one. Of the hundreds and thousands of our fellow-citizens, whom we have been wont to meet for these many years in the great gathering in behalf of Missionary, Bible and Tract Societies, and whose faces have become familiar—of the scores of distinguished men who are foremost in every noble work of Christian charity, and whose opinion in this community carries weight with it, and whose presence gives dignity to every cause they support—of all these, there was not one whom we could recognize. We say nothing against the respectability of those who composed this meeting, but we state a fact from which those at a distance may infer that the indignant gentlemen were not the men on whom any good cause must exclusively rely.

In the pulpit were the Rev. Drs. Cheever, Thompson, Rev. Messrs. Clark, of Brooklyn, and Dennison. After prayer by Mr. Clark, Dr. Cheever read the 13th chapter of Ezekiel, in which "lying prophets" are denounced, and, as he read, he applied the words to the brethren of the Tract Society, to the amusement of Dr. Thompson and many of the audience. Dr. Cheever then read a very smart speech, an hour long, in which he cursed the Tract Society in the same tone and spirit and with the same effect with which, from the same pulpit, he cursed the Supreme Court. It was full of wit and wickedness, gall and bitterness, and of course was received with unbounded applause by the assembly, stamping of feet, clapping of hands and roars of laughter, making more noise and uproar in the church than was made during the entire day of the great session of the Tract Society.

He took ground boldly against the action of 1857, denouncing the resolutions moved by his independent brother Thompson, as utterly ridiculous and preposterous, and he also denounced the Society for not affirming the same resolutions again! He declared that unless slavery is a sin, and to be condemned as such, out and out, the Tract Society has nothing to do with it, and only because it is the greatest and widest spread of all sins would he insist on the Society attacking it. He compared the Society's present course to that of a dealer in charts, who should sell to a captain a chart out of which was erased a certain reef of rocks on which he would be likely to be wrecked. "Now," said this eminently religious preacher, Dr. Cheever, "would it be any comfort to this captain, when he went down, that he had Baxter's Saint's Rest in his pocket?" This was received with tumultuous applause. It was *such* a good hit! The pious but "indignant" people were delighted—and so it went on. Dr. Cheever did not blush to charge the members of the Society with "lying," and the pulpit and the pews responded to the bitterest of his invective—it was the very thing they wanted.

Rev. Mr. Clark followed in a more moderate, but not less ultra, speech; his language was more becoming a Christian and a gentleman; he did not charge the Committee with lying, but his doctrine as to the duty of the Society was as extravagant and unscriptural as Cheever's. John Jay, Esq., then made a tame and lame review of the Tract Meeting. He was evidently not at home in the pulpit. His memory failed him and he made statements flatly in contradiction of the minutes. He said the Society *rejected* the resolution which he offered; a statement he knows, and Dr. Cheever who made the same statement knows, is not correct; the Society *laid Jay's motion on the table*, because it did not desire to consider the subject. Dr. Thompson next addressed the audience, giving a second edition of his "Sambo and Tony" speech, but making no reply to the attack which Cheever made upon his resolutions of 1857. Then Dr. Tyng was called on and took the pulpit in the midst of a storm of applause, loud, long and rapturous. The Abolitionists seemed in ecstacies over a live Episcopal minister in a Puritan pulpit at an abolition meeting. He threw himself, soul and body, into the movement against the Tract Society, took no exception to the most extravagant sentiments that had been already uttered, but avowed his determination to agitate until the Society was compelled to go forward in obedience to the action of 1857.

Thus closed the great Indignation Meeting. It had no moral power in itself, but it was of great significance as showing the thoroughly abolition and political character of the Anti-Tract Society movement. Cheever did not shrink from giving it as one of the reasons of his opposition that the Society, unless abolitionized, would give support to the party that support the Kansas outrages, the Lecompton swindle, and the Dred Scott decision! There is no doubt whatever that it was the purpose of Cheever, and the politicians whose instrument he is, to get the control of the Society to make it subservient to their ends. The stand which he and his opponents in this meeting have now taken will probably open the eyes of some of the moderate and more judicious men who acted with them at the Tract meeting. The lines will now be distinctly drawn. Those who are willing to take the scriptural and constitutional ground will support the Society; those who wish to make the Society an engine of abolition and politics will follow the lead of Cheever and *The Independent*.—*N. Y. Observer.*

MORAL OF THE RESULT.

IT is impossible to over-estimate the value of the recent action of the American Tract Society. It is an index of the religious and moral sentiment of the North, too palpable to be mistaken. We learn from the result—

1. The weakness of the abolition party. In the minority were scores of good men who are not Abolitionists in any proper sense of the word. But all the Abolitionists were present whom *The Independent*, *The Tribune*, and all other political, abolition journals in the country could press to the meeting. Private circulars, and public appeals, and special messengers had been sent to bring in men here, and what was the effect? Of 600 life-directors present, 52 voted as *The Independent* had commanded! What a pitiful show! The vote on Dr. Nehemiah Adams is the best test of the abolition strength. That party polled nearly one vote in eight!!

2. We learn the strength of the *conservative* party of the North. This meeting of 1,400 men was made up of Christian citizens who have been for years contributing to the Tract Society. *The Independent* has been asserting that a vast majority of these members were in favor of anti-slavery action. It besought the Society to meet and say so. It rallied all its forces for this single purpose, to compel the Committee to act. *The Observer* called on the conservative men to assemble and prevent it. But we knew that conservatives are slow, and radicals are fast. We feared our friends would not turn out. But the Society met: 1,400 men, all members for life or directors; not the masses, but the life men, representative men; not drilled in a caucus sitting two days previous, appointing leaders and preparing resolutions, and devising expedients for success; but they met in faith, and prayer, and holy purpose, to stand up for the truth and the gospel for the whole country. Of this 1,400 men, at least 1,200 men were CONSERVATIVES; men who will never bow the knee to the dictation of modern Abolitionists; men who hold *The Independent* school of morals and manners in righteous abhorrence. If, in a meeting assembled as this was—all the effort to get men there being made by the Abolitionists—composed as this was of religious men who are deeply engaged in benevolent movements, and have clear views on the relations of slavery—if, in such a meeting, more than eight out of every ten men are opposed to the Abolitionists, we may be sure that the conservative party of the North is ten times stronger than the radical party represented by *The Independent*.

3. We may learn that Northern Christians are disposed to give the simple gospel to the whole country, as the best remedy for all moral evils. They are opposed to slavery and wish its removal; but they know that Abolitionists are not doing any good by their anti-Christian spirit and measures. The conservative party will sustain the Tract Society in publishing the whole Gospel, equally for the North and the South; but it will never consent to have its funds applied to the publication of tracts that make *sin* worse at the South than at the North. This is now distinctly understood. We may have to reaffirm it every year, and we will do so, until the last vestige of the "no-gospel-for-sinners" heresy has been expurgated from the Church of the North. If the Gospel is to be made triumphant over every form of moral evil, it must be given to all men in its simplicity and purity, as the Tract Society gives it, and not as *The Independent* would have it administered.

4. No man must infer that there is any increase of pro-slavery sentiment at the North. If the private sentiments of the great meeting had been expressed on this subject, they would have been almost unanimous against the system of slavery. But the members of the Society are not agreed as to the best mode of dealing with it; and the conservative party believe that the Christians of the South will do their duty more efficiently without than with interference. Therefore, they wish to let vexed questions alone, and preach the word in which all agree.

5. The Tract Society is safe. It is now proved that if we reckon all the Abolitionists, they will not number as many as one of the five or six denominations of Christians represented in the Society. They do not constitute one-half of the Congregationalists! While the Presbyterians (Old School and New School), the Episcopalians, the Baptists, the Reformed Dutch, the Lutherans, and other bodies, with here and there a few individual exceptions, are firmly attached to the Society on its present scriptural and constitutional platform.—*N. Y. Observer.*

NO CONTRIBUTIONS AND NO SECESSION.

THIS *The Independent* unblushingly puts forth, in capitals, as the motto for those who will unite with it in its war on the American Tract Society. The spirit that dictates such a policy is unworthy of a Christian age or a Christian land. It betrays a malignity that has no fitting place even in this wicked world.

A great religious society is spreading far and wide the principles of the Gospel, holy books, the best productions of the best men that ever lived, the entire Word of God, and millions of pure and pointed tracts, turning thousands to righteousness. It is also true that there are many religious doctrines and many duties that cannot be discussed in pages circulated by a Society composed of many men of many minds. These it agrees to let alone and to publish only what all unite in believing and loving. This includes the whole New Testament, all that Christ has left for us, all that the apostles taught us; this includes all the instructions requisite to lead men to repentance and to heaven. But *The Independent* says, if you will not publish certain tracts on certain evils which *we* think require attention, you shall have no funds from us, and we will do all in our power to prevent others from giving! We will cripple your ability to do any good if you will not do good in our way! We will not allow you to cast out devils unless you will follow us! We will stick by and make trouble, but we will not *give!*

Now, we ask, in all sincerity, if this is not a wicked spirit? Is it not a *very* wicked spirit? But is it not more wicked when displayed by men who claim to have just "achieved a great moral victory" in the Society?—*N. Y. Observer.*

MEMBERS FOR LIFE.— * * It is evidently of the first and highest importance that men of sound and reliable principles be made life-members and life-directors of these institutions. The Bible Society and the Tract Society have both been saved from destruction, during the past six months, by the preponderating power of conservative men in their boards of trust. This power must be perpetuated and increased. Every man who contributes to the funds of either of these institutions should direct that his money be applied to constitute a sound conservative, reliable man, who will be able also to attend to the resulting duties, a member or director for life. Many gentlemen give a hundred, others five hundred, others a thousand dollars, or more, every year, to these institutions. Let them hereafter take special care to make this money a perpetual source of strength to the society, by securing the support of judicious and able men, who will be near at hand, and ready for every emergency. *We hope a thousand male life-members will be added to the Tract Society and two or three hundred life-directors, in this city and vicinity, during the coming year.* For this purpose, do not throw your money anonymously into a church collection, but write on a card distinctly the object to which you wish your funds to be applied. By so doing, you will accomplish all that you can by merely giving to the Society, and you will strengthen the hands of its officers by bringing around them a larger, firmer and more earnest corps of right men.—*N. Y. Observer.*

SUMNER IN SEARCH OF HEALTH.—The New York *Evening Post* publishes a letter which the Hon. Charles Sumner has addressed to his constituents on the eve of departure for Europe, "in search of health." The honorable gentleman indulges in a touching allusion to his chastisement and laments his inability to discharge the duties of his office. But, he generously forbears to tender his resignation. Wonderful self-sacrifice; for so long as he visits the Senate chamber, the spectre of the lamented Brooks will haunt his imagination and paralyze his energies. If he would have health, he must separate himself from associations which oppress and overpower his feeble nature.—*The South.*

Selections.

A CAPTURED AMERICAN SLAVER—VISIT TO THE DISMANTLED SHIP.

Correspondence of The Journal of Commerce.

U. S. FRIGATE POWHATAN,
JAMESTOWN, ST. HELENA, Feb. 1, 1858.

I HAVE just witnessed a sight, which may my eyes never behold again—a SLAVER! I climbed up its side; I walked its decks; I went into the hold; I sat down upon the planks where human beings, like myself and mine—men, women and children—had sat a short time before, but manacled and fettered; and where they had sighed, siekened, and many had died, and then been thrown into the deep, without prayer, without coffin, and without shroud, just as dogs, when dead, are tossed into the deep. But all was silent now; not a living form was seen; not a sigh was heard; not a tear was shed; while fancy, left free to do its work, filled the slave-deck with groans, skeletons, corpses, and death. Here and there I picked up a rude article of wood, whittled into some shape like a comb or spoon by the wretched prisoners, or a piece of their manacles and chains, or a tool of steel or iron used in fastening and remaking their manacles and fetters; while the whole scene seemed to be made present and living by the fragment of a *shell* which had been fired into the slaver by the British armed steamer which captured it. I walked, and sat, and mused, and then rose, and walked, and mused again, unable to realize where I was, and what I saw. I had read of slavers, and the middle passage, in my boyhood; the verses of Cowper were burnt into my memory, and rang in my ears, and tears *would* flow for scenes of imagined grief. But here was the reality! I was standing in the midst of all its horrors. It was no phantom I saw: the infernal reality was before me, living, moving, palpable; I saw it; I touched it; I stood upon it; I descended into its pit of the blackness of darkness; and more truly than Jonah "from the belly of hell cried unto the Lord."

For days I had gazed upon this strange-looking craft, which was anchored at some distance from us and all the vessels, wondering what it could be; for, though evidently new, and well constructed, and in good condition, all the masts were taken down, the rudder was gone, not a rope or spar was left, nor was a human being to be seen who appeared to command it or have any interest in the ship. Gloom and silence reigned around it. All the vessels in the harbor seemed to shun it as a plague-spot, and anchored at a distance; and when the flags of all nations gayly flaunted upon the breeze, no colors disported from this sullen, dismal keel. Death reigned! and as much by day as by night. The mystery was solved when, upon inquiry, I was told it was a *slaver*, recently captured on the coast of Africa, and *proh pudor!* an *American* slaver, and worse still, a *Connecticut* slaver! obtaining permission from the local authorities. I took a boat of the Powhatan, with ten strong oarsmen, and, climbing over the side of the dismantled ship, spent an hour or two in its examination, after which I proceeded by the same conveyance to Rupert's Valley, a short distance east from Jamestown, where, for the present, the recaptured Africans are located.

The slaver is a brigantine, and was built about four years ago in New London, Connecticut. It was admirably constructed for speed, being something less than 150 feet in length by less than 30 in width, and having a measurement of 220 tons. The hold was entirely empty. Some planks had been torn up from the bottom, probably in search of money, which slavers usually conceal there when there is danger of being captured. A private on board the Powhatan tells me that once, when he was serving in our African fleet, he himself discovered above $15,000 in gold pieces by tearing up a plank of the slaver which had been captured. The hold had been floored from stem to stern, though the flooring was now removed, and not a trace of it was to be seen. Thus the hold is about equally divided horizontally, the upper division being the *slave deck*, which is not above four feet and a half high. The gangway leading to the slave deck is the only aperture for light and air, and even this is in part defeated in its object by the heavy iron grating which is thrown over it to prevent the escape of the slaves in case of mutiny, and which is never removed except when a gang of slaves are taken up for air and washing. Thus the wretches who carry on this detestable traffic seem to desire to chain heaven's free and sweet bounties as well as human limbs. Nothing can be imagined more dismal than this dreary, empty hold, a great cavern now, and once had been a tomb, full of dead men's bodies, if not bones, and all manner of uncleanness. I have been in old and venerated tombs, but none so horrible as this, which had been the great *sarcophagus of six hundred living human beings.* It was frightful to look; it was frightful to listen; my own voice and tread almost startled me, seeming to echo the sighs and dying groans of the poor creatures who had been half suffocated here, or who had sickened and died here; and I hurried up from this *inferno* which men had built for their unoffending fellows; I blush to repeat it, which *Americans* had built, which *Puritan Connecticut* had built. The cabin for the captain and officers of the slaver was built on the poop of the ship, and was quite neat and commodious, nor were there wanting evidences of good living, and even luxurious fare, while the music, such as it was, came up from beneath, from the slave deck, through the iron grating of the hatchway, to enliven their carnivals.

To locate *six hundred and fifty Africans* within the space afforded by the slave deck of so small a vessel required the utmost compression and compactness compatible with life; and had not so large a portion been mere children, they could not have been stowed away. I was told the following method was employed to economize space. The Africans were placed in rows, face to face, lengthwise of the deck, and each one running one leg between the legs of the one sitting opposite. Another row was placed back to back against the exterior row first seated, and thus the whole deck was almost a solid mass of living human flesh. To keep them still and powerless, and prevent insurrection, a ring was put on one ancle, to which an iron bar was attached which reached up to the body, and to which the manacles were fastened which were put on their wrists. Thus situated, row facing row, and legs interlaced with legs, a long iron bar ran along over the line of ancles, to which the irons were attached which fastened the feet. Thus nearly all motion of the body and exercise of the limbs was impossible, men in the stocks having as much liberty as they had, with all the advantages of light and air. Even for a day, such a position would be painful and almost intolerable; what then a passage from continent to continent over the broad Atlantic, amidst storms, and calms, and suffocation, and occupying often *sixty* days and more!

Occasionally the slaves are taken on deck in gangs, where they may breathe the pure air a short time, and where they are washed by having buckets of salt water thrown upon them, their fetters and manacles yet remaining on them, and the salt water washing the sores and raw flesh which their sitting position on the hard planks, their pressing against each other, together with the galling irons, have made. Both men and women are either utterly naked or else have hardly the equal of a fig-leaf apron for their protection. The stench and filth are necessarily horrible and indescribable, which a stable or a stye can hardly exceed, and seldom equal. Such *accommodations* had been provided by *Americans*, citizens of the *Charter Oak* State, for unoffending men, women and children, on the distant coasts of Africa. It is not strange that a frightful mortality soon broke out, which ended the woes of many, and would have done of all, but for the providential capture.

PROGRESS OF EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA.

Correspondence of The Independence Belge.

ST. PETERSBURG, April 21, 1858.

THE following is a brief abstract of the Imperial ukase containing the measures to be adopted by the Committees of Emancipation.

The ukase declares, in the first place, that it was agreed upon in the presence of the Emperor, in Grand Committee, the Grand Duke Constantine assisting, as usual. It then sets forth the object of the proceedings of the Committees appointed in the Governments, traces their progress, and enjoins them to conclude in six months, when the regulations will be submitted to the approval of the Emperor, to be put immediately into execution.

The ukase, after having recognized the necessity of taking into consideration, in the regulations of the provinces, the various modifying local circumstances, states that there is need of a normal regulation which shall serve as a general basis. This normal regulation is composed of ten chapters, of which the following are the titles:

1. Obligatory transitional condition of the peasant.
2. Definition of this condition.
3. Territorial rights of proprietors.
4. Regulation concerning the inclosures of peasants.
5. Principles to follow in the bestowal of lands on peasants.
6. Rents of the peasants.
7. Rights and duties of the *dvorovoi* (old servants and their families, who live in the master's house without any specified service).
8. Constitution of the new communities.
9. The rights of proprietors, and the connection of these with their peasants.
10. Manner and means of enforcing this regulation.

Each of these articles is then separately explained. We can draw from them the general idea that serfdom is forever abolished in Russia, and can never again be established there under any form whatever. The condition of the peasants, when the regulations are once confirmed, will be on a par with that of the other classes of citizens.

The name of seigneurial peasants will be changed to peasants by contract; that is, they treat freely and at their own pleasure with the proprietors concerning the conditions of their work. But until the confirmation of definite regulations they must be made to understand that they must be submissive, and cannot leave the land. Then the ukase orders a regulation to be prepared, according to which the peasants can change their condition so as to enter, for instance, into the class of citizens. Next the duration—and it must in every case be short of this transition state preceding their trial emancipation—is to be determined.

And finally, the Imperial ukase peremptorily commands that there be inserted in the new regulations a clause compelling the proprietors to cede to their serfs the inclosures which they occupy, together with their houses, beside a certain quantity of cultivable land, greater or smaller according to circumstances.

Correspondence of The Vienna Wanderer.

RUSSIAN FRONTIER, April 30, 1858.

It is estimated that in 1851 there were 22,000,000 serfs, exclusive of those belonging to the Crown, in the 68,000,000 inhabitants of Russia. The distribution of the serfs in the different governments is as follows:

Kiev, 511,554; Podolia, 472,553; Toola, 403,649; Rinzan, 391,419; Smolensk, 378,038; Orel, 374,631; Tver, 362,277; Tambov, 362,142; Volhynia, 362,092; Koorsk, 359,968; Nischni Novgore, 341,191; Vladimir, 329,765; Poltava, 325,753; Saratov, 322,098; Kalooga, 307,746; Moscow, 306,803; Kostroma, 295,153; Minsk, 288,355; Mohilev, 286,275; Tchernigov, 281,844; Penz, 264,967; Perm, 256,581; Vorvnezk, 243,560; Kharkov, 223,140; Witebsk, 216,752; Simbirsk, 212,889; Novgorod, 198,491; Pskov, 186,985; Yekaterinoslov, 157,307; Kherson, 151,670; in the district of the Don Cossacks, 127,947; Samara, 108,251; Kazan, 99,588; Orenburg, 65,561; Taurida, 20,677; Viatka, 16,186; Stavopol, 8,131; Astrakan, 6,211; Wilna, 197,863; Grodno, 198,118; Kovno, 171,318; and St. Petersburg, 125,413.

Very few of these belong to the Governments situated outside of Europe, as for instance in Kutaisk, where there is only one serf.

Correspondence of The Augsburger Allgemeine Zietung.

ST. PETERSBURG, May 1.

In the last number of the journal of the Minister of the Interior, there is mention made of the commencement of proceedings in several Governments by the Committees appointed to arrange the emancipation of the serfs. St. Petersburg made the beginning January 26; Wilna and Nishni Novgorod followed on the day of the inauguration, and Grodno and Kovno on the 10th and 18th of March. The discussion of the details was immediately commenced, but nothing is yet published concerning it. The measures that, since the official career of Count Schuvaloff, have been adopted against master-workmen who neglect their apprentices are attended with the best results. The apprentices have sometimes left the shops in a body and carried their complaints to the police office, and, if found to be well grounded, the employers have been punished by fines, censure and exposure.

Correspondence of The Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung.

POLISH FRONTIER, May 6, 1858.

* * * * * The St. Petersburg Cabinet has at length discovered that the abolishment of serfdom and the intended reorganization of the relations of the peasantry cannot be effected by the regulations hitherto employed, since the different committees of nobles have brought forth the most different and irreconcilable plans and propositions. A central committee has accordingly been appointed, which will form a definite plan to hold good over the entire Empire. The principles on which it is to be formed have already been announced.

From The Correspondence Havas.

ST. PETERSBURG, May 3, 1858.

It cannot be denied that a certain agitation pervades all classes of society; and, in fact, the reforms that are on foot touch everybody more or less. These reforms naturally meet with occasional opposition, but the Emperor does not permit himself to be turned from his end, and moreover he finds a powerful aid not only in public opinion, but also in some of his advisers.

The Grand Duke Constantine, particularly, proves, by the numerous improvements he introduces in the Navy, that he is a friend to all reforms. He has recently given still another proof of this in sending a diamond ring to M. Lenow, author of the comedy, "There are still Good People in the World," in which the corruption of public officers is sharply handled, and which has produced a great sensation.

The Governor-General of Wilna, Kovno and Grodno, has arrived here, to announce to the Government the proceedings of the Committee of Nobles, and to give the details concerning the troubles of Tawrezzen. These troubles have been much exaggerated.

GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

STAND up! true-hearted man!
Stand till thy work is done,
The foremost soldier in the fight,
The bondman's champion!

I hear thy burning words
Ring manfully and loud;
They thrill me like a trumpet's blast
From out a battle-cloud.

They come with weight and power,
In prophet utterance bold;
They mind me of the manly hearts
And golden days of old.

In high and nervous strength
Above the strife they peal,
Like the crusader's battle-shout,
The clashing of his steel.

I see the foemen come,
I see them charge a-field,
I see their blows all harmless glance
From off thy red-cross shield.

I will not bid thee hope,
Nor bid thee not to fear;
I'll not insult thee with advice,
Nor greet thee with a cheer.

I know thy purpose pure;
Thy path for thee is made;
Thy work is for the souls of men,
And what the Lord hath said.

This, then, be thy reward,
The task of duty done,
The love for man, the fear of God,
And triumph of His Son.

Great heart and stalwart arm,
Strike home with all your might!
Spare not in trampled manhood's name;
And God defend the right.

—*N. Y. Tribune.*

THE GERMAN VINE-GROWERS OF MISSOURI.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

MARTHASVILLE, Warren Co., Mo., May 19, 1858.

THE German element in the population of Missouri is becoming now a most important one in determining the destinies of the State. The German shopkeeper, mechanic and merchant are crowding one portion of St. Louis, and already form a population of nearly 75,000. The German peasant and vine-dresser and farmer are settling all over the hillsides and the beautiful valleys of the interior, which the American pioneer had neglected for the rich river bottoms. Villages spring up where one hears no language, day after day, but the language of the old Fatherland. German Judges of the Peace are appointed in some of the counties; newspapers are published, laws printed, notices posted, school books issued, all in the foreign tongue. The best agriculture of the country is falling into the hands of this busy, thorough people. Slavery melts away before the free Teutonic industry. The slaveholders find themselves competed with on the market, undersold and far outstripped in the yield of the arable lands. They sell their worn-out fields to these intrusive foreigners, and emigrate with their negroes in disgust to Texas. Besides, as a German well explained to me, the slave is becoming too expensive for labor. A healthy negro man costs now in Missouri some $1,200. Capital is worth here at least 10 per cent., so that his cost to the owner, without reckoning expenses of food, clothing, medicine and shelter, is $120 per annum. Then there must be added to this the cost of his absent or sick days, his "sulkiness" (which is, you know, a disease in the medical books), and his general disposition to shirk or do badly work in which he has no interest. Now, against all these expenses and annoyances, the sum of $100 will procure the services for the year to the new settler of a free, intelligent, efficient, careful German laborer, who takes care of himself and has no sulks. Is it any wonder, with this statement alone, that the newcomers, whether American or German, detest slavery, and that the old slave-owners are glad to get rid of their expensive laborers, and either turn Free-Soilers or emigrate to more congenial circumstances? Lands, too, are rising immensely in value under this new species of labor which is coming in, so that the large proprietors find it much more profitable to sell off small farms from their estates or to speculate in land than to trust to the wasteful system of forced labor. No doubt, too, many of the slave-owners were led into the system against their better principles by circumstances—by the difficulty which formerly existed of procuring any hired labor except that of hired slaves—and now feeling the pressure of the ideas of the age, they are glad to be rid of the burden. This explains the fact that some of the slaveholders themselves are leaders now of the Emancipation party. Still, the great influences which are pushing forward, at such rapid rate, the cause of Emancipation in Missouri are no doubt the industrial and the economical. Among these, one of the most efficient is the development of a peculiar branch of agriculture, destined to a great success in that favored State. I mean the *culture of the vine.* Vine-growing never could be carried on by slaves; it never could flourish even in a slave society. The care of vines, the selection of the kinds best suited to this peculiar climate, the working up of new sorts, the experimenting necessary in this country, the minute and intelligent labor demanded, and the judgment required in the manufacture of the wine, are totally unsuited to the thriftlessness, waste, dullness and carelessness which characterize the labor of both master and slave in the American slave State. Missouri, a country wonderfully favored with the advantages of nature, is, next, perhaps, to its mineral resources, most remarkable for its adaptation to the culture of the vine. The rocky, slaty hillsides along the rivers and through the interior—abandoned by the Americans for their barrenness—are found, under the skilled labor of the free German, to bear a harvest richer than the richest yield of the river-bottom, though fertilized by the desposits of ages, and waving with the most luxuriant wheat. These hill-tops and stony slopes are still offered at a merely nominal price to the emigrant, and they attract, each year, more and more of the best German laboring population. The German vine-growers are forming communities by themselves, and are naturally in deadly hostility with slavery. Like good Democrats, they hate the aristocracy of the slave-owners; like honest Teutons, they love freedom and industry, and detest tyranny, and laziness, and thriftlessness. In one German village of vine-growers (HERMANN), of which I shall speak hereafter, I found, out of 1,200 inhabitants, there were only three persons who could be called good Buchanan Democrats, and that the others would vote unanimously for a Republican candidate. The same is true of the other vine-growing villages, to such a degree that the more bigoted of the vulgar pro-slavery party look upon them as public nuisances, and would be glad to be well rid of them, if they did not find them so profitable in a business way.

I hope to show in my next more of the details of the vine-growing business in Missouri. It is already attracting in numbers of Free Soil Germans; it will continue to do so. With judicious arrangements, a great stream of honest, industrious, skilful population might be turned into that thriving State.

What bountiful and cheap homes are there already for our own needy German men and women in New York! Would that some portion of that great mass of suffering, unemployed labor in our city might find its way to these sunny hillsides and fertile intervales. C. L. B.

ESCAPE OF A WHITE SLAVE.

From The Cincinnati Gazette, May 17.

ABOUT the first of January there arrived at the dépôt of the U. G. R. R. in this city a woman, quite handsome, and perfectly white, who came from Lexington, Ky. She told a story, the truth of which was subsequently ascertained by the agents of the U. G. R. R. Her father was her first master, and resided in the interior of Kentucky. As we have said, the negro element in her was completely blanched out. She was, consequently, treated like a free person, and was told by her father that in his will he had made provision for her manumission. Her father died, and his will was, it is supposed, destroyed by some of the heirs, as it contemplated a disposition of his property not acceptable to them. The girl was sold with the estate. She was bought by a man who treated her so badly that she attempted to run away. She was caught, brought back, and beaten so that she still bears the marks of the whip upon her back. Her second attempt to escape was more successful. She reached Lexington, and there took the cars for Covington.

She was so Caucasian in appearance as to excite no suspicion, and reached Cincinnati safely. Here she found friends, occupation and a home. Falling under revival influences, she became connected with one of the Churches here, and was constant in her attendance at meetings.

Her master became in some way acquainted with her place of residence, and, a few weeks since, made an attempt to capture her. The son of her father, the son of her last owner, and one or two others, came to the city in pursuit. Hearing of her religious propensities, these young men became devout (would they had remained so!), attended prayer-meetings, listened to sermons, &c., and attracted the notice of some zealous brethren, who thought they saw in the young men the beginnings of the religious life.

So matters went on till one Sunday night they saw the white slave at church. When she left for her home, in company with some two or three female friends, they followed them and attempted to arrest her. She, acting on the Apostle's injunction, "If thou mayest be free, use it," rather resisted the attempt at a capture. She had pluck as well as religion, as the Kentuckians found. While they were squabbling, two policemen came up and remonstrated with the young men "for abusing the ladies." The girl slipped off, leaving the police and the Kentuckians to settle matters. The next day she started for Canada *vid* the Underground Railroad, and, as she says in a letter received here a day or two ago, "arrived safely at ———, hearing nothing of the pursuers on the way; is well, and has met with kind friends."

We regret to say that the young Kentucky gentlemen have dropped church-going, and, if we may believe one of the girl's companions, on the night of the attempted arrest made use of certain phrases which, though often heard in (Orthodox) churches, are decidedly improper when used by laymen.

SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONVENTION.

Correspondence of The Times.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 14, 1858.

THE Southern Commercial Convention closed its session to-

States, or States calling themselves free, make such provisions, maintain such inhuman enactments, I advise them all to close their mouths against the system of slavery in the United States. When I give my voice or my vote to maintain any such outrages or any such wrongs, I will close my lips forever against slavery in any portion of the country. If we are opposed to slavery as a violation of human rights (and if we are opposed to it at all, we are opposed to it on that broad ground)—if we are opposed to it because it violates the rights of man, we had better put our own State and our own public sentiments right, before we arraign others.

I cannot vote for the admission of Oregon into the Union with this Constitution, though I do not wish to vote against the admission of a free State. I would welcome free States, even if they have not Constitutions precisely as I would like them, and trust to the influences of time; but I cannot give my vote for a State that has adopted a provision not excluding these men, but denying to them the right to sue in the Courts of the State, for the protection of their persons, the protection of their lives against lawless violence. I may refrain from voting, for I do not wish to vote against the admission of a free State into this Union, but I cannot vote for a provision of this character. I should feel that if I did it, I gave my own personal sanction to it. In refusing to vote for the admission of Oregon, I may meet the censure of political friends in my own State, and in other portions of the country. But, sir, with me this is a matter of conscience, and I cannot do it.

BARON HUMBOLDT ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

A PRIVATE LETTER TO MR. JULIUS FROEBEL.

Communicated to The Tribune with Humboldt's consent.

ACCEPT, my dear Froebel, if only in a few lines, my most cordial thanks for your kind letter and for the gift of an able work on your personal experience in America, in which you have submitted all classes of society to such a sagacious comparison. You are here warmly cherished in the memory of all who are acquainted with your distinguished scientific attainments, the nobleness of your character, and the peculiar features of your mind. I have boasted of your enduring friendship with me in the new volume of *Kosmos*, p. 541. I closed this volume just as I received the first part of your travels and researches, which had already often been described to me by friends, and especially by Varnhagen von Ense. I trust I shall not lose your favor on account of my differing from you in regard to the connection between the North Mexican highlands and the Rocky Mountains. Our controversy, as you will find when you read attentively (pp. 431–440), is almost entirely one of words. I make a distinction between a broad, continuous elevation, and the disconnected chain rising above it, often steeply and like battlements. The word mountain is very indefinite. In spite of my heretical disposition, however, your ninth chapter (pp. 504–518) gives me a great deal of instruction. You have explained many points which were only hinted at in the "Remarks" (Contributions to Phys. Geog., Smithson. Inst). But there are other things which come nearer my heart than those elevations. Your next volume on the political future of America, would I, almost the original Adam, gladly live to see. Continue to brand the shameful devotion to slavery, the treacherous importation of negroes, under the pretence of their becoming free—a means to stimulate the hunting of negroes in the interior of Africa. What atrocities have been witnessed by one who has had the misfortune to live from 1789 to 1858. My book against slavery (Political Essay on the Island of Cuba) is not prohibited in Madrid, but cannot be purchased in the United States, which you call "The Republic of distinguished people," except with the omission of everything that relates to the sufferings of our colored fellow-men, who, according to my political views, are entitled to the enjoyment of the same freedom with ourselves. Add to this, the anathema on other races of men, forgetting that the most ancient cultivation of humanity, before that of the white Hellenic race in Assyria, in Babylon, in the valley of the Nile, in Iran, in China, was the work of colored men, though not woolly-haired.

I still work hard, mostly in the night, because I am unmercifully tormented with a constantly increasing correspondence, for the most part of not the slightest interest. I live joyless in my 89th year, because of the much for which I have ardently striven from my early youth so little has been accomplished.

With renewed expressions of the friendship of many years, which political events have never troubled,

I am ever your illegible AL. HUMBOLDT.

Berlin, January 11, 1858.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1858.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "*Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, 138 Nassau street, New York.*"

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "*Publisher of the Anti Slavery Standard, 138 Nassau street, New York.*"

THE REFORMERS *IN THE TRACT SOCIETY.*

AT the Annual Meeting of the American Tract Society which has recently been held in this city, a very large majority of the Society—that is to say, *the Society itself*—voted to approve the pro-slavery action, and to sustain the pro-slavery policy, of the Executive Committee during the past year; and followed up this decisive action by re-electing the whole Board of Officers, substituting for two Vice-Presidents, deceased, two intensely pro-slavery persons, and electing, as a new Director, a Northern man with Southern principles, a popular minister in a slaveholding community.

The proceedings at the previous annual meeting, and the signs of the times since, very clearly indicated that such would be the result. If the remonstrating party THEN *did not care* to interfere with the re-election of those who had done the very mischief against which they were remonstrating, nor even of that notorious representative man, South-side Adams, whose single *veto* would still be sufficient to exclude any tract having even the feeblest reformatory character—still more, if they unanimously voted for the very document, standing upon which that Board of Officers have ever since successfully defied them, and maintained their own pro-slavery policy—how could it be expected that *such* a minority should, a year after, displace such a majority? But when we reflect, in addition to these considerations, that that majority has ever since been actively working to fortify its already commanding position, while the minority has done little, if any, other preparatory work than an intermittent fretful complaining—and that the great revival of the American pro-slavery religion, which has occurred meanwhile, has greatly strengthened the Society, and proportionably weakened the minority—we must see that this result was as plainly inevitable as any effect from any sufficient cause.

But, to do the minority justice, they *did* make so much preparation as to hold a meeting for consultation at Clinton Hall, on Monday evening, next preceding the Wednesday on which they were to be so thoroughly beaten. It is to the proceedings of this preliminary meeting, to the sort of principle and degree of unanimity displayed in it, and to the amount of action recommended and developed by it, that we now ask the serious attention of our readers, as the means of forming their opinion upon the influence likely to be exerted by such men, so combined, towards the overthrow of slavery.

This meeting, called by a circular marked "Private and Confidential," assembled in considerable numbers on Monday evening, were called to order by Rev. Dr. Tyng, of this city (the first of the signers present), and chose for their Chairman Rev. Dr. Duffield, of Philadelphia.

Prayer and a brief statement concerning the origin of the call were made by Dr. Tyng.

Chief-Justice Hornblower, of New Jersey, 81 years old, was indignant that the Tract Society had concluded to preach but half a Gospel. He considered slavery a sin which violates every law in the Decalogue. He would as soon think of sending missionaries to Utah, and forbidding them to say anything against adultery, as to preserve silence on the subject of slavery.

Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, thought that perhaps the Society might still be put right without resorting to the expedient of removing its officers.

Dr. Asa D. Smith said that, however much he might dissent from the views of the Executive Committee, he entertained the highest esteem for them personally. To a certain extent, he agreed with the Secretaries. He was opposed to personal issues. The question before the Tract Society is not if it shall publish Garrisonism or Abolitionism, but a Christian tract on the duty of masters, after having published one on the duty of slaves. He did not feel the present issue to be so dangerous as many considered.

Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, was behind no one in respect for the Secretaries and Committees of the Tract Society. He was much disappointed that they had not published the tract before them last year. [This is the pro-slavery publication commonly called "The Suppressed Tract."] He thought the simple point to be, Can we consent to rescind the action of last year? We cannot shuffle ourselves by reversing our action then.

Dr. Tyng said that though, in 1856, he opposed the appointment of a Committee of Investigation, he had been much gratified at the moderation and wisdom of their Report. He considered their nine resolutions wise, appropriate, just, true, and likely to meet the views of Christians everywhere. Tranquillity and peace, now as well as then, were the right course. He thought the resolutions of last year should be reaffirmed, but could not sympathise with those who wished also to remove the officers. He thought there was too morbid a sentiment on the subject. The word *slave* might be dropped, and the duties of masters to servants be taught; *or, taking the most ultra ground, and considering slaves as chattels, tracts might be published on the duties of men to beasts.*

Dr. Joseph P. Thompson (of *The Independent*) feared that many would come to the Tract meeting on Wednesday under wrong impressions. They would believe the Society was to be Garrisonized, abolitionized, torn asunder, North from South. But even before New York city merchants he would risk the issue, if a full discussion could be held, if the views expressed this evening could be presented by the same men before them. He *wished* the *venerable* Bishop Meade, *of Virginia*, could be present, to give *his* views.

Dr. Proudfit, of New Brunswick, did not think the temperate, kind, conciliatory action of last year could be rescinded. He thought the great difficulty was that the honored brethren in the Society had committed an error in repressing truth. Tracts should been published on the duties of masters. He did not believe in interfering with the economics of the subject; the South would not bear that, *nor would we*. But a Christian presentation of the duties of masters should be made.

Lewis Tappan coincided in what had been said of slavery, but he thought other things had been said inconsistent with it. If slavery is a sin, what right has the Tract Society to publish on the duties of masters to slaves, that is on the duties of wrong-doers in wrong-doing? He considered the tract printed, but not published, most pernicious, and rejoiced that its publication had been arrested, &c., censured the Secretaries for their course, but rejoiced in the result. He was surprised at the things said by some of the clergymen present. Dr. Tyng had spoken of slaves as beasts.

Dr. Tyng explained, and said he had only said, suppose the extreme ground be taken, that slaves are chattels, we may still teach the duties of a man to his *beast*, and asked Mr. Tappan if he did not believe so.

Mr. Tappan said, No.

Dr. Tyng asked, have you a right to tie a tin pot to the tail of your dog? *Unbounded laughter followed*, after which Mr. Tappan proceeded to comment upon the tracts alluded to, as thoroughly unworthy of the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, until a motion to adjourn to 9 the next morning.

On motion of Mr. Jay, a committee was appointed to indicate the best course to be pursued at the approaching anniversary.

Judge Hornblower, Dr. Tyng, Dr. Bacon, Dr. A. D. Smith and Dr. J. P. Thompson, were appointed members of this committee, and the meeting adjourned.

On Tuesday morning, the meeting assembled according to adjournment, at 9 o'clock. After prayer by Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, and the reading of the minutes, a letter was read from Dr. Tyng, expressing his regret that he was unable to be present on account of his health, and saying that two points were unalterably fixed in his mind; first, distinct reaffirmation of the entire action of the Society at the meeting of 1857, and a quiet and unopposed re-election of the present officers and committees, *in the confidence that they will decidedly and consistently carry this action out* [!!!].

The following two members were added to the committee appointed Monday night: Rev. R. W. Gordon, D.D.; Rev. T. W. Field, of Providence, R. I. Dr. Bacon asked leave to withdraw from the committee. Rev. Mr. Kitchell, of Detroit, was nominated in his place and appointed, but Dr. Bacon was not allowed to withdraw.

Lewis Tappan spoke of the pernicious statements and doctrines in Bishop Meade's part of "the suppressed tract." He declared slaveholding anti-Christian, declared the duty of Christian men to be to insist that the Tract Society shall issue tracts, not on the abuses of slavery, but the *sinfulness* of slavery, and closed with the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society be empowered and required to publish, as soon as possible, and without unnecessary delay, a tract on the sinfulness of American slavery.

Dr. Thompson, from the Committee, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this meeting, the fourth resolution of the series adopted by the Society last year be emphatically reaffirmed, and that the declaration that the American Tract Society can and ought to publish, in a fraternal and Christian spirit, upon those moral duties which grow out of the system of slavery, and those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote, should be carried into effect the present year.

Resolved, That it is expected that all who may be elected to office at the present meeting of the Society will faithfully fulfil the above resolution.

Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed with discretionary power to make arrangements for the details of action at the business meeting to-morrow morning, in view of whatever exigencies may there arise.

Lewis Tappan moved that the first resolution be amended by adding some words so as to make it read "Resolved, that because American slavery is a sin against God, therefore," &c.

Dr. Bacon said he had no doubt, and no one could doubt, that this great gigantic evil is sin; but it is a political institution, and the Tract Society was not instituted to deal with political questions, and the less it meddles with political questions the more good it will do. As citizens, we may meddle with them, but not as an American Tract Society.

Dr. Cheever said the only ground on which the Society have any right to publish on slavery is because it is a sin against God. The first moral duty growing out of the existence of slavery is to declare it to be a sin. It is man-stealing. The origin and essence of it is man-stealing. Had this Society borne its testimony against it, the frightful evils which now stalk forth in our land in connection with this subject could never have existed. Can there be any hesitation to make the simple declaration that American slavery is a sin against God?

Rev. Dr. Ray Palmer, of Albany (one of the Investigating Committee of 1856), feared that if they mingled up *the outside question* with this question of the duties of slaveholders to their slaves, they should be defeated. He wished the Society to publish on the "Duties of Masters."

Dr. A. D. Smith did not believe the mere legal relation of slaveholder to slave to be sin.

Rev. Dr. Clark, of Brooklyn, thought the question to be if sin is a blessing or a curse. It is one or the other. Slavery is antagonistic to freedom like granite rock; and it must be drilled with a principle and blown to pieces.

Rev. Mr. Bishop, of Vermont, wanted no anti-slavery discussion. The churches of Vermont wish simply to have the fourth resolution of last year reaffirmed. They do not ask a step in advance.

Rev. Mr. Pattoo, of Chicago, said, the feeling in Illinois and the West is that slavery is a sin. Whether anything needs to be added to the 4th resolution of last year to make it mean that, is a question.

Rev. Mr. Ide, of Medway, Mass., believed slaveholding to be a sin, but asked, Is it necessary to say so on this occasion, and will it help the end we have in view?

Rev. Mr. Moore, of Connecticut, agreed with the last speaker.

Rev. Mr. Bartlett, of Chicago, thought the reaffirmation of the 4th resolution of last year would accomplish the end desired, and that to attempt more would defeat it.

Rev. Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, said the Congregational Churches of Maine wanted slavery treated as a sin.

S. B. Chittenden thought that a declaration that slavery is sin would only tear the Society to pieces.

Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, said—The Tract Society is not an Anti-Slavery Society.

Rev. H. T. Cheever wished slavery to be called sin.

Rev. Mr. Smith, of Northampton, Mass., thought that saying this would defeat everything.

Rev. J. P. Thompson was satisfied, now as last year, with both the negative and affirmative aspects of the 4th resolution. He would make no addition to it.

The resolutions introduced by Dr. Thompson, from the Committee, were then adopted, the one by Lewis Tappan, affirming the sinfulness of slavery, being rejected.

Dr. A. D. Smith presented some further resolutions from the Committee, the substantial part of which was that the Society should not allow itself to be silenced—that none of its publications *should express or imply the Christian lawfulness of American Slavery*—and that IT IS ESPECIALLY FITTING THAT A TRACT SHOULD BE PUBLISHED ON THE DUTIES OF MASTERS!!!

These resolutions were unanimously adopted, although no Kilkenny cats, or other most contrarious incompatibles, could be more inveterately opposed to each other than the last two.

The minority in the Tract Society are divided to this extent, and in this proportion, among themselves. Disagreeing thus in regard to what purity is, and what it implies, they agree in the policy of seeking peace before purity. And they put the interests, not only of the Church, but of the Tract Society, before the interests of the slave. If they had even been the majority, and carried all the points upon which they themselves could agree, the cause of truth and righteousness would have gained nothing beyond the miserable, ambiguous resolutions of last year, and the slave would have gained nothing at all.

New-England Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE Annual Meeting of the *New England Anti-Slavery Convention* assembled in Boston on Wednesday morning, May 26th, at 10 o'clock, a. m. At the hour named for the meeting to commence, the hall (Mercantile Hall) was entirely filled—every seat, and all available standing room, being occupied, and it was estimated that one thousand persons left, unable to get inside the hall. It was unfortunate that a larger place had not been provided. So great and eager a crowd, at the opening of the Convention, had not been seen for many years. Undoubtedly the corrupt pro-slavery action of the American Tract Society and of its Boston branch had much to do in stirring a feeling of popular disgust and indignation, of which this unusual throng was one manifestation. And it was most cheering to find that the hot-bed revival of a spurious religion, which has consumed so much good during the past winter, has been powerless to injure, or even to weaken, the anti-slavery faith and conscience of the true and tried Abolitionists of New England, but has even proved the occasion of awaking in many hearts a new devotion to that great cause of Freedom and Humanity—the Anti-Slavery Cause—which is seen more clearly than ever to combine and concentrate in itself the essential elements of a pure, unadulterated, bold, faithful and genuine Christianity.

The Convention was called to order, soon after 10 o'clock, by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and it was unanimously agreed to proceed at once to organization.

Mr. Jackson said that he would submit to the meeting a list of officers prepared (in order to save time) by the Committee of Arrangements. The list was as follows:

For President.—EDMUND QUINCY, of Massachusetts.

Vice-Presidents.—Francis Jackson, of Boston; Peter Libbey, of Maine; Peleg Clarke, of Rhode Island; Benjamin F. Hutchison, of New Hampshire; Ebenezer D. Draper, of Milford, Mass.; Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester, Mass; Joshua Perry, of Hanson, Mass.; Prince S. Crowell, of Dennis, Mass.; Josiah Henshaw, of West Brookfield, Mass.; William Ashby, of Newburyport, Mass.; Joseph Carpenter, of New Rochelle, N. Y.

Secretaries of Convention.—Samuel May, Joseph Howland, Charles K. Whipple.

Business Committee.—William Lloyd Garrison, Maria W. Chapman, Charles L. Remond, Parker Pillsbury, Wendell Phillips, Charles C. Burleigh, Stephen S. Foster, Andrew T. Foss, William Wells Brown.

Finance Committee.—Ebridge Sprague, Abington; Reuben H. Ober, Boston; Sarah P. Remond, Salem; Samuel Dyer, Abington; Sallie Holley, Rochester, N. Y.; Lucy Coleman, New York.

The unanimous assent of the Convention was given to the organization thus reported.

A. T. Foss, of New Hampshire, was introduced to the audience, and spoke of the Revival that has spread through the land, and said we must judge of its character not by its professions, its outside aspects, but by its fruits. Now what are its fruits? The first fruit that has dropped from the tree is the retrograde action of the American Tract Society at New York, week before last. Mr. Foss then went on in detail to state the past and present position of the Tract Society, and said, The tree and fruit are alike; both are corrupt, the fruit of course, because the tree is so. The religion of the country is altogether corrupt in all its branches and ramifications. You may want to hear me make some exception, but I can make none; all are in harmony, and all are working together in this revival; even the liberal sects are involved with the rest in working the machinery of the American slaveholding religion. In Ohio there are some small come-outer sects, that have attempted to separate themselves from this spurious religion, but at the outset of this revival they have rushed back and joined with the other sects in reviving the American Religion.

I repudiate this slaveholding religion. I loathe a slaveholding Christ and all revivals of his religion.

The remarks of Mr. Foss were often interrupted by the vain attempts of the crowded audience to attain comfortable positions, and the attempts of constantly increasing numbers to find standing room in the densely packed Hall, one man in the audience remarking that in 1833 it was difficult to get a Hall to get into, but now it was difficult to get into the Hall.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, from the Business Committee, read the following Resolutions:

Whereas the American Tract Society, at its recent annual meeting in New York, by an overwhelming majority reversed its action of last year, and declared its purpose never to issue a single tract in condemnation of slavery as a system, or of slaveholding as an act—not even of any evils or abuses arising therefrom—but virtually sanctioned, as compatible with "sound morality" and evangelical religion, the enslavement of four millions of those for whose redemption Christ laid down his life—thus leaving them without God and without hope in their chains, and remorselessly consigning them, as far as in their power, to the doom of the damned in the life to come; therefore,

Resolved, That while the American Tract Society exhibits a spirit so satanic, and retains a position so impious, it must be sorely displeasing to a just God, and an act of exceeding criminality, to contribute to its treasury on the part of any church or any individual, or to give it any countenance; but the strongest testimony should be borne against it as false to Christianity, and as an organized conspiracy to shield and uphold "the sum of all villanies."

Resolved, That, after refusing to consider the awful condition and imperative claims of one-seventh portion of all the inhabitants in this land, and deliberately leaving them to be driven like cattle to an unrequited toil, and to perish miserably in the Southern prison-house, nothing can surpass the impudence, hypocrisy and wickedness of the American Tract Society in pretending to be concerned for the souls of men, the propagation of a pure gospel, and the triumph of Christ and his cause over Belial and his confederates; for the brand of Anti-Christ is upon it, the spirit of Belial controls its operations, it carries damnation and not salvation in its train, and is less deserving of respect than a band of highwaymen.

Whereas the Boston branch of the American Tract Society, at its annual meeting yesterday, passed no condemnation upon the recent iniquitous and horrible decision of the Society at New York, and voted to postpone for one year a proposition for withdrawal from the same; therefore,

Resolved, That the Boston branch reveals itself to be equally undeserving of respect, countenance, or pecuniary aid, with the main body; and that its wretched policy and shuffling morality are worthy of the most unprincipled political tricksters, rather than of those who profess to be the disciples of Him who came to open the prison-doors and to set the captives free.

Whereas the people of Massachusetts declare, in the first article of their Constitution, that "all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties, that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property—in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness"; and

Whereas, in direct and flagrant violation of this declaration, for seventy years they have allowed fugitive slaves to be hunted on their soil, seized, and returned to bondage, in willing confederation with Southern men-stealers; and

Whereas this is to involve themselves in all the guilt and shame of kidnapping—to stain their Christian profession, sully their character, evince the basest perfidy, violate all the commands of God, and disregard the claims of our common humanity; therefore,

Resolved, That their first duty is to repent of this great iniquity, and to decree that, henceforth, every fugitive from slavery shall, on coming into this Commonwealth, be free, against all claimants and pursuers; and that no person shall be put on trial, before any magistrate, commissioner, or other tribunal, to decide whether he has a right to his own person, or is the property of another.

Resolved, That, to secure this humane and Christian object, a memorial to the next Legislature shall be circulated for signatures in every city, town and village throughout the Commonwealth, asking that body to make the decree aforesaid; and thus to deliver the people from blood-guiltiness, and enable them consistently and effectively to rebuke the South for legalizing the awful crime of making man the property of man.

Resolved, That, having, in the removal of Slave Commissioner Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate, testified her abhorrence of the Fugitive Slave Law, Massachusetts is bound by consistency to pronounce that law imperative in all cases, by allowing no Slave Commissioner to exist within her borders.

Resolved, That the bestowal of the office of Judge of Claims, at Washington, upon the aforesaid Edward Greeley Loring, by President Buchanan, as a reward for his infamous pro-slavery subserviency to the South in the illegal rendition of Anthony Burns, and as a fresh insult to the people of Massachusetts on account of their growing love of liberty, but deepens the disgrace which attaches to his character, and makes him a more conspicuous object of righteous scorn and contempt.

Whereas a Constitution which, according to James Madison, contains a clause that was "expressly inserted to enable masters to reclaim their fugitive slaves—which, according to Daniel Webster, "gives solemn guarantees to slavery"—which, according to Alexander Hamilton, could not have been adopted without its pro-slavery stipulations—which, according to John Quincy Adams, contains "three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of the slaveholders' dominion over their slaves," and is "saturated with the infection of slavery," and that "makes the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the national government"—which, according to Judge Story, "makes a necessary sacrifice to the prejudices and interests of a portion of the Southern States"—which, according to Joshua R. Giddings, "secures to the master the same right to pursue and capture his slave in a free State that he possesses to pursue and capture his horse or mule"—which, according to Charles Sumner, contains "three chief original compromises as essential conditions of the Union," one of them providing for the continuance of the piratical slave trade for twenty years, and another for a slave representation in Congress—which, according to William Ellery Channing, makes "the free States the guardians and essential supports of slavery," and the people of the North "the jailers and constables of the institution"—which, according to Stephen C. Phillips, "while it lasts, will make the free States, as well as the slave, sustain a relation to slavery indispensable to its security and continuance"—which, according to Josiah Quincy, senior, "makes it incumbent upon the free States to deliver up fugitive slaves, and is the slaveholder's main strength"—which, according to Horace Mann, "provides for the recapture of fugitive slaves," and is the impregnable bulwark of the slave system—and which, according to its universal and uniform interpretation ever since its adoption to the present time, on the part of all legislative and judicial bodies, binds the people of the North to the duty of suppressing all slave insurrections, through the national government, in every case of emergency—allows a three-fifths slave representation in Congress, thus constituting a slave oligarchy—and gives the slaveholder the right to make every inch of Northern soil slave-hunting ground—is a Constitution "not fit to have been made" or to be supported, but deserves to be execrated for its inherent cruelty and tyranny; therefore,

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States cannot be more truly described than by applying the language of Scripture to it: it is "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and it ought to be instantly annulled, in the name of the living God.

Resolved, That the union existing between the free and the slave States is unnatural and wicked—an insane attempt to reconcile elements and interests eternally antagonistical to each other—and, therefore, the first duty of every true friend of freedom is to accept for his rallying-cry the motto of the American Anti-Slavery Society, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"

Whereas the cause of the oppressed millions in our land has lost one of its earliest, most respected, and for many years most conspicuous advocates, in the sudden death of our honest friend and coadjutor, ELLIS GRAY LORING, Esq., of this city; therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention proffers its heartfelt sympathy to his afflicted family, in view of this great bereavement; and would record the expression of its high regard for his character, his valuable services in the arduous struggle with the Slave Power, his moral intrepidity exhibited at a time when the Anti-Slavery cause had few to stand by it, and his philanthropic and charitable disposition alike toward the bond and free, without regard to complexion or race.

Resolved, That, as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, this Convention will adjourn its session, this afternoon, in season to enable all who desire to do so to attend the funeral services at the Church of the Disciples in Indiana Place, at 4 o'clock.

The President then introduced Rev. THEODORE PARKER. [Mr. Parker's speech, from his own manuscript, appears in another place.]

WENDELL PHILLIPS was next introduced, and spoke briefly as follows:

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The clock warns me that the hour of adjournment approaches; I will not detain the audience.

The resolution on the table referring to our friend ELLIS GRAY LORING—one of the earliest Abolitionists in Massachusetts—reminds me that, nigh thirty years ago, when the question was discussed, and when that noble friend whose loss we deplore stood among the thirteen or fourteen men who were about to launch the anti-slavery enterprise in that small chamber, the question was whether the word *Immediate* Emancipation should be inscribed on our banner. Nobody knew that in that word "immediate" was wrapped up the fate of Democratic parties and Tract Societies. Men called it an "abstraction." They will know what "abstraction" means, when, some day, not far off, that "abstract" GARRISON *abstracts* New England from the American Tract Society (applause). They will know it when he sends asunder the Democratic party, and sets down Douglas the defeated expectant of Presidential honor. Little thought that young man, then just coming into life, that a dozen men in an upper chamber at Boston were settling the question whether he should ever be President of the United States; yet they were.

Our friend Mr. Parker has been analyzing for us to-day the meaning of the word "Republican" in the United States Constitution. I must confess, for one, that I do not say "Amen" to all his argument; but I do not care for that. If he will only persuade the people of the United States to say "Amen" and *exercise* the power, God speed him! I do not care whether a scamp is kicked out of the window or out of the door (loud applause).

Mr. PARKER—It is easier to kick him out of the door.

Mr. PHILLIPS—Doubtless. Well, I do not care *which* door he goes out of—the door of Revolution or the door of Republicanism; only, in God's name, *get him out* (applause)!

Mr. Parker said we could hem in with a band of fire the slave States at present in the Union. True; but if he can only get his doctrine accorded to, we can do more than that; for if Congress is authorized to guarantee to the States a Republican form of Government, in his sense, then Congress is authorized to clean out South Carolina of everything *now*. It is not a Republic, and I vote that it be done (applause)!

Mr. PARKER—That is my doctrine.

Mr. PHILLIPS—We are advancing very fast. There are two governments in this country—Civil and Religious. The Civil government is James Buchanan. It lives at Washington. It is removed three or four steps from the people. It holds the army in one hand and the treasury in the other. It is strong enough to defy public opinion for awhile. Outside of that rises the great Religious organization of the country; its large benevolent institutions, its extended and organized church establishments. They obey public opinion like the weathercock, in a moment. Now, this public opinion which we have started reaches the religious organizations first. We have worked here many a day. One friend has called the slaveholder a pirate, and another has called the Church the synagogue of Satan; and you did not see exactly the reason why. Go into the American Tract Society and look at our first class, and see if they do not get on well! They are not quite ready to graduate yet, but they bear a very good examination (laughter and applause). When they are fit to graduate, I will tell you the exercises they will be put through. Dr. Cheever will lock his door in the face of the American Tract Society, and say, "No connection with the firm on the opposite side of the street! No money taken here for their till!" And the moment you stop the supplies, you bankrupt that government. Now the American Tract Society halts in its Boston branch. They have the bliss to know that they must turn out *Bliss* (laughter and applause). They have laid one lamb on the altar, a scape-goat—no, they have not laid him on the altar, they have turned him out of office and let him run into the desert, for the sin of not saying—"We have nothing to do with a Society that licks the feet of the slaveholder." But if they do not do it this year, they will do it next. Wait! You know that elaborate prescription for dressing cucumbers, which says you must take the oil, and the salt, and the mustard, stir it and mix it, cut the cucumbers into thin slices, mix the whole carefully together, and then—throw it all out of the window. That is just what we are going to do with the American Tract Society (applause)!

The hour approaches one. If there is any man here who assents—as doubtless many of you do—to the philosophical analysis of the constitutional argument to which we have listened, go to the polls with it. Demand of Henry Wilson, your representative, that he shall promulgate and stand by it. The Constitution, practically, has long since ceased to be. We are governed by the majority. The South clutches power on all hands, and uses it. Perhaps the North will advance to triumph in the same way. Clutch the power! I believe the people are ready to use it. That is the door; open it, that we may topple the slave system out! Judge Marshall used to say to Judge Story, on the Bench at Washington, "That is the law; do you go prove it"! So, if the people are ready to say, "We want to get rid of slavery by the action of the government; be kind enough, Mr. Theodore Parker, to prove that we can"—God bless him in his argument! I hope ninety-nine out of a hundred will say "Amen," and use it!

A VOICE—"Amen" (laughter and applause)!

Mr. Phillips moved the adoption of the Resolution relating to the adjournment of the Convention, for the purpose of attending the funeral of the late ELLIS GRAY LORING, and it was unanimously adopted.

The Convention, at 1 o'clock, adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock, p. m.

AFTERNOON.

Meeting called to order by the President, EDMUND QUINCY, at 2 1-2 o'clock.

ANDREW T. FOSS said, I have a respect for true religion, as much as any man ought to have. I have a respect for truth, justice, right, honesty. We supposed the religion of America to be the true religion, until the baseness of its character was revealed by the Anti-Slavery cause. I might have been where I was, in the horrible pit and among the miry clay of the American Church, had not the anti-slavery cause opened my eyes. All the great national societies follow in the train of this Church, looking to a distant heaven only for their Jesus, and expecting to find him upon a throne there, instead of down here upon the earth, on the slave plantation and on the auction-block. Therefore I do not rejoice in the revival of a religion like this, but I abominate it as evil and evil only.

HENRY C. WRIGHT said, Where is our friend Theodore Parker, practically, in relation to the slave? His principle is that the majority, when they have got the control of the Government, may carry it out just as they please. The preamble of the Constitution says it is formed to establish liberty and secure justice. What absurdity! To form a compact with sheep-stealers to prevent theft, and allow them important special privileges *as* sheep-stealers, would be no more absurd or monstrous. By joining with slaveholders in a common union, you acknowledge it to be in *their power* to establish justice and secure liberty.

There is a resolution in the series recommending to the people of Massachusetts to demand of their official servants in the next Legislature to pass a law forbidding *trial* of a claim to a slave. I rejoice in this application of law to liberty; for all personal liberty bills hitherto assume that men may, in some circumstances, be subjected to such a trial.

In passing such a law as the resolution contemplates, why should we look at, or care for, what the Constitution of the United States says! Let us make such a law as our State Constitution warrants, and let the Federal Government attempt to reverse it, or to interfere with it, if it dare. This will bring up the State Rights question, as it has never yet been brought up. The present course of things is tending directly and surely to the destruction of all government amongst us, except the central Federal Government.

And this Revival of religion! What has it done to help us in the vindication of the rights of man? Who can show?

Mr. Wright concluded with saying that he hoped no slave would ever again be sent from Massachusetts to Canada or anywhere else in order to possess and enjoy freedom. Keep them here and defend them. I will fight for them, said he, in my way. Do you, who believe in fighting, fight for them in your way.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER addressed the Convention. He objected to the course of the Committee of Arrangements in specially inviting to the platform of this Convention a speaker who, like Theodore Parker, this morning, would use the time and opportunity to overthrow the distinctive positions of the American Anti-Slavery Society and undo the work of their agents. Mr. Foster did not at all object to Mr. Parker's coming to this platform—he welcomed him here—rejoiced to see and to hear him; but he wished him to come on his own responsibility, and not by special invitation of the Committee.

At 4 o'clock the PRESIDENT announced the Convention adjourned, in accordance with the morning resolution, for the purpose of attending the funeral services of the late ELLIS GRAY LORING.

PELEG CLARKE, of R. I., one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the chair, and Mr. FOSTER, who was speaking at the adjournment, continued to address the large audience who remained, for an hour longer.

C. C. BURLEIGH then spoke in review of Mr. Foster's remarks till 6 o'clock, when the meeting adjourned.

EVENING.

The PRESIDENT in the chair.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN was the first speaker. He said—

We talk of the degrading influences of slavery upon the slave; and they are many and great; there is a premium upon ignorance in the slave; but the slaveholder is also ignorant and degraded. The young child of the slaveholder finds his youthful companions among the ignorant and degraded young slaves. He commands them, tyrannizes over them, and forms habits of self-will and self-indulgence which last all his life. We have all read of the college students of Charleston, S. C., who held the mastery over that town for three days. The persons under such tuition *cannot* be chaste, honest and just.

The Northern girl who marries a Southern slaveholder knows not the horrible state of things in which she is called to live. Five thousand dollars have been offered and refused for a beautiful female slave.

The slave, black or white, cannot expect justice at the hands of the slaveholder.

On my master's plantation was an old man named Jim; he worked by night, bought a calf, and by-and-bye owned a cow. The master proposed to Jim to trade, and gave him two calves for his cow! What could Jim do? I know a case of a free white woman kidnapped, who asked to be locked in jail to protect her from the villain who had stolen her. I knew a case of a white slave who had ran away in company with two black ones, personating their master; the white one actually claimed the others as his property, and sold them. He had not black blood enough in him to make him honest!

I would that every one here should feel that our rights, our liberties, our duty, our God, all require our most active exertions in the Anti-Slavery cause.

Mr. THEODORE PARKER said—I understand that my friend Mr. Foster, this afternoon, made some some charges against this excellent Society, under whose pleasing auspices we are assembled to-night, as so many times before. It is reported to me that he charged them with asking me to give a speech in the Representatives' Chamber last winter, and in this hall this morning, both of which, he maintains, I think, are somewhat at variance with his own opinions, and those of the Society itself. I only wish to say, in this matter, that the Society is not at all responsible either for my speaking or for the opinions of the speech; for it was not they that invited me, but I volunteered last winter, and volunteered again to-day. So I "answered before I was called, and ran when I was not sent" (applause).

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., made an appeal to the Convention for contributions to the Anti-Slavery treasury; and the Finance Committee proceeded to make collections.

WENDELL PHILLIPS then addressed the Convention. [This speech will be published hereafter.]

CHARLES L. REMOND said—

We have heard to-day and heretofore much of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, but I deny that their superiority is one suited for mention on an anti-slavery platform. We have heard that the colored people can afford to wait for better times; that improvement is coming, but I think it does not become any colored man, in view of existing facts, to indulge in these pleasing fancies. We have heard of the great progress made by anti-slavery; but, while Parker and Phillips are speaking, I am declared an outlaw in my native State, by the highest judicial authority in the country. I am tolerated as a man here, but only tolerated. The high position which Edward Everett holds in this country, with such a character as his, is, by itself, a sufficient reason for a dissolution of the Union. The Union makes such men, and tends still more to make them, worse and worse.

Mr. FOSTER said the audience would perhaps suppose, from what Mr. Parker had said, that there was a contradiction between his (Mr. P.'s) statement and his own, in the afternoon, but such was not the fact. The truth was, both statements were correct. Mr. Parker was undoubtedly right when he said he *volunteered* to speak, and he (Mr. F.) had it from a member of the Executive Committee that he was *invited* to speak also. Mr. F. repeated his objections to *inviting* speakers to that platform who did not agree with the distinctive principles of the Society.

Mr. PARKER replied, and illustrated his position by telling a story of farmer Jenkins's boys, who, having invited their neighbor Tompkins's boys to help them split some chesnut logs into rails and posts, complained that, while they used their wedges, they would not touch their beetles, but used their own. "Well," asked the old man, "Didn't they split the logs?" "Yes." "Wasn't that what you invited them to do?" [Here Mr. Parker paused, and the loud laughter and applause of the audience showed that they had made the application.]

Mr. GARRISON—I do not rise to give "railing for railing" (laughter). I have been deeply interested in this discussion, and, before we part, I feel that I would like to throw myself on your indulgence for a few moments.

I cannot take so sombre a view, as I think it is, of the condition of

matter. It is *knowledge* with me, and where knowledge commences, faith ends. I have a God, but he is not a slaveholding God, and I despise such a God; when you ask me if I believe in your God, I want to know who is your God. It may be that the being you reverence as God is the one I hate as a Devil. I care not for names. I reverence no names. I have no respect for the *name* of God more than the name of Devil. Names are nothing. Character is everything, all; and when you have clothed your deity with the characteristics of the American God, a slaveholding, slave-trading, slave-breeding God, I have no respect for him—I repudiate him.

Jesus of Nazareth gave us no such representation of a God; but in all his teachings shows us love, humanity, justice and benevolence, as his highest ideal of a deity. I love the God of Jesus of Nazareth, and hate the God and the Christ of the American Church; and if I am not now understood, then I cannot be.

LYSANDER SPOONER here inquired if Mr. Wright believed that anybody believed it to be their Christian duty to hold slaves. Mr. Wright replied that he believed multitudes held that God authorizes and sanctions slaveholding, and that therefore they were better satisfied to continue the practice of wrong-doing than without this sanction.

Mr. Spooner said that he did not believe that the fact of anybody's being a church-member had anything to do with his being a slaveholder. He thought that all this talk about the Church and religion was waste time. The church-membership of people had little or nothing to do with their character or their practices.

J. N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, stated that he had this forenoon heard Dr. Cheever pour out a strain of concentrated thunderbolts against the American Church. You may take Mr. Garrison, Pillsbury, Foster, and throw in all the rest of the fanatics and boil them all down, and you cannot make one Dr. Cheever, for fiery denunciation of a corrupt Church, and I think he knows better than friend Spooner the agency and guilt of the Church in the matter of slavery.

Mrs. LUCY N. COLMAN, of New York, said that, although a Woman's Rights woman, she thought her sex had been too much eulogized on this platform. Woman was not morally so much superior to man as she had been here represented to be. There was, alas, too much equality in wickedness and error. The mothers, even of New England, are too much in fault, in their instructions to their children; too often they frighten their little ones with the dread of the "black man." They need reforming as well as the other sex.

Dr. J. M. HAWKES, of Manchester, N. H., then addressed the Convention. [A full report of his remarks will appear hereafter.]

C. L. REMOND said that Mr. Spooner would be better qualified to judge of the position and practice of the Church and Clergy upon this question if he should travel awhile in the capacity of an Anti-Slavery Corporteur or Lecturer.

His own experience showed him clearly that the strongholds of American Slavery were in the American Church and the schools of American theology. Mr. Remond went on at length and in detail to demonstrate this position; and concluded by reading from a Western paper a *prayer to the Devil*, being a parody upon our ordinary church prayers, and which many men now in pulpits might use more consistently than those they now hypocritically put up.

LYSANDER SPOONER said, I don't believe there is one in ten thousand who considers it a religious duty to hold slaves. Instead of being the bulwark of slavery, the clergy are mere drift wood, not a bulwark of anything, and not worth regarding. It is ridiculous to suppose that the people of this country look to the Church or the clergy for religion or morals, or meanness, or anything.

Mr. GARRISON read, from the Business Committee, Resolutions Nos. 8 and 9.

PARKER PILLSBURY spoke as follows: I do not wonder at the intense emotion of our friend Mr. Remond. Having travelled with him and his sister, I have seen manifestations of the spirit of American prejudice against the people of color, such as few of us realize to exist. If Mr. Spooner will make such a journey with us, we will soon convince him of the power and extensive influence of the Church.

Beecher and Cheever were once denouncing us. Now we are told that Dr. Cheever surpasses the concentrated power of us all in his rebukes of pro-slavery. It was positively declared by the American Board of Commissioners that no missionaries had been employed by them who held slaves. A few years after, they admitted it. For speaking the truth respecting the American Tract Society, *The Independent* opened its batteries upon me; now *The Independent* itself is publishing the same things. It is not too much to say that the strongest expressions that have been used by the American Anti-Slavery Society have been proved by the practice of the American Church.

Now we have religion revived, and the power of the Church manifested as it never was before.

In 1830 to 1840 we had numerous and powerful revivals, so that the Church fancied the hour of her supremacy had come. In all the converts to that mighty revival, I never knew a slave emancipated, although the market value of many was increased by their piety. But Mexico emancipated her slaves, and then we massacred and butchered the Mexicans and re-established slavery.

If, during those revivals, I had predicted these things, would not every minister in the land have pronounced me a slanderer? Yet those things are now history.

We have just had new revivals over the whole country. Have any of you thought, What new manifestation of diabolism is now pending?

The business men's prayer-meetings seem to be adapted to produce the sort of religion which has well been called Commercial Christianity. We have seen the leading public journals teeming with advertisements of negro minstrels, of men who had contrived to turn themselves inside out and bring the darker part outward; and mixed with them were advertisements of the different entertainment offered in the churches; and both were thronged. The advertisements must have been a profitable item in the business of the secular press—and it seemed half converted itself; at least on the anxious seat; and it spoke in most subdued, if not solemn, tone—from the surly mastiff growl of the *Courier*, down to the innocent yelping of the *unbaptized* poodle of the *Evening Transcript*.

In our anniversary meetings in New York, the city was clouded with the revival darkness that had gathered there, but it gave no gleam of hope to the slave. No meeting but that of the Anti-Slavery Society gave the least help to his cause.

And in the anniversaries of this week, in this city, from which, except from this, will any help arise for the slave?

We who are Abolitionists must try to walk worthy of our vocation. Some great calamity must be impending over this guilty land, in view of this sad revival of an oppressive and heartless religion.

WENDELL PHILLIPS called upon the Convention and friends of freedom to provide the means to sustain and carry forward this work. He contrasted it with the position of the Republican party, of the Tract Society, &c., and showed its higher democratic and Christian character and mission.

S. S. FOSTER said that all this criticism upon the Church, in the matter of its short-coming and wrong-doing through its collateral organizations and accidental relations, fell short of the testimony that we ought to bear against its deep criminality and guilt in its organic action and direct character. He then went on to show the actual position of the Church, as proved by its own confessions and statements; reading from an article in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, in support of his position, that the Church held the slaves and hunted the fugitives.

Rev. Mr. CILLEY, of New Hampshire, of the Freewill Baptist Church, in a few remarks moved that this Convention advise and request the Committee of the Boston branch of the American Tract Society to publish Dr. Cheever's address made before the American Missionary Association to-day. He claimed exemption for the Freewill Baptist Church from the charges brought against the American Church, as it had no fellowship or complicity with slaveholding.

A. T. FOSS hereupon declared that the Freewill Baptist Church was directly and closely connected with slaveholders through their connection with the American and Foreign Bible Society. By this ecclesiastical connection and by political support of this slaveholding Government, they are, said he, not exempt, but must by all means be charged with complicity in slaveholding, as well as other denominations.

Mr. SMITH, of Boston, also a Freewill Baptist, claimed for his Church the character of an Anti-Slavery Church.

Mr. FOSTER made a few remarks and the Convention adjourned.

EVENING.

The President in the Chair. The Convention at this its closing session—which was attended, as all the preceding ones had been, by a crowded and most attentive auditory—was addressed by Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Rev. S. S. HUNTING, of Brookfield, and WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston. The substance of their addresses, which were in every respect worthy of the cause and of themselves, will appear in a future paper.

By request, the question on resolutions 8 and 9 was taken separately. They were adopted, with but two dissenting voices; the remaining resolutions, not already acted on, without a dissent.

☞ The entire amount received by the Finance Committee, and subsequently by the Secretaries, for the expenses of the Convention and for the promotion of the cause, was $536 33. Amount pledged, and payable during the year, $1,090.

The Convention, at 10 p. m., adjourned *sine die*.

EDMUND QUINCY, *President*.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
JOSEPH A. HOWLAND,
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
} *Secretaries*.

THE RELATION OF SLAVERY TO A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER,

At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in Boston, May 26th, 1858.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: On the matter of slavery, there is a great confusion just now in the American State and the American Church. Monarchic and Oligarchic Europe is at war with this institution. The British Teuton has driven it out of his soil; his kindred, the Dutch, the Scandinavians, the Germans and Austrians have done the same. The French Celts allow no property in man, and Napoleon's attempt to restore the doctrine and practice of the Dark Ages is now to fail. Even the Russian slaves attack the principle of bondage. Alexander will liberate 30,000,000 Caucasian slaves, and in less than twelve years the last footprint of the serf will be covered up by the new agriculture of Russia. Turkey cannot long hold out against the steady progress of mankind.

But, in America, the Democratic party thinks slavery is indispensable to good government, and is the normal condition of one-seventh part of the people. The Republican party has nought to say against property in man, but allows a minority to own a majority in South Carolina; the American Church is the stanchest supporter of American slavery. To the American Politician, slavery is a "Republican Institution"; to the American Priest, it is doubly religious—both "Jewish" and "Christian." The Revival of the Ecclesiastical Religion and of the African slave trade go on at the same time. They take sweet counsel together, and walk to the house of *their* God in company. Years ago, the greatest professional Rhetorician of America, "the Monarch of the Platform," "Orator, Patriot, Sage, Cicero of America, Laudator of Washington, Apostle of Charity, High Priest of the Union and Friend of Mankind," justified slavery out of the New Testament, and declared his readiness to buckle on his knapsack, and shoulder his musket, and march South to defend the masters who make merchandise of men against their insurgent chattels. I know not whether Mr. Everett said that under the influence of "an anodyne" or a stimulant; but neither the public reply of Southern Congressmen nor the private rebuke of Jefferson—then so near the grave—has yet led this "Patriot, Statesman, Philanthropist," to renounce this statement in his maiden speech! Noble Charles Sumner, who "was wounded for our transgressions," in a foreign land seeks the quiet and health he cannot find in this. He bears with him the thanks and the prayers of religious men, but his sails are filled with the curses of the Northern Democrats, the Southern hiss and sneer, the contemptuous laugh of Richard Yeadon, and the *remarkable language* of Mr. Everett, their rhetorical coadjutor. "Remarkable language"! Is there not a shorter name for it, wholly Saxon?

This ecclesiastical and political confusion is amazing. Can you and I do nothing to end it? Let us try. So I will ask your attention to some Thoughts on this Relation of Slavery to a Republican Form of Government.

Man is gregarious by instinct; like sheep and deer, he cannot live save in flocks and herds. Solitary, he perishes. He is social by reflective will—consciously making terms of alliance with his fellows, and shaping the form of his community to suit his needs, which vary from age to age. So in all lands men group together, the wildest and also the most enlightened; for this gregarious nature of man appears in all states of his development—lowest and highest. But, while the gregarious savage makes only a herd of men who are driven together by necessity, or drawn by their unreflective instinct, and are domineered over by the strongest, who, while he protects the feeble, also robs them of natural rights as pay for his help, the reflective civilized man shapes his society so as to secure the Natural Rights of each; the ablest man rules, but it is for the joint good of him and all, and he does not take his pay by robbing them of their rights, but rather do they voluntarily give him the sweeter compensation of Honor and Gratitude. Thus are both parties materially and spiritually profited by the alliance.

There are two great things to be considered in human History.

1. The Individuality of each man. He is an integer, a Unit of Humanity, impenetrable; his humanity must be respected.

2. The Sociality of all men. All must cohere into one symmetric whole. There is a mutuality of social need; the strong man requires the weak man, as the weak needs the strong. As the doctor wants patients, the speaker hearers, the herdsman cattle, the farmer land, so and not less does the great man need the little. If they require him as means for their protection and guidance, so he needs them as means for his development. Neither greatness nor littleness can be alone.

Now, the Individual reaches his proper growth only in society—with the communion of his fellows. A great character cannot be built up alone; no more than a great temple. A hermit constructs no pyramid; he achieves no great nobleness of manhood. The man running alone goes nowhere, and is yet soon lost. The more perfect and complete the form of society, the more complete and perfect is the individual man whom it brings up. Society is to be tested by the men it breeds; that is the best which produces the best and most superior individuals.

The Substance of Society depends on the gregarious instinct which groups men into flocks and herds; this is always the same. But the Form of Society depends upon the will and intelligence of the controlling men. In the human body, there are Voluntary Actions—eating, speaking, drinking, and the like; but also Involuntary Actions, which go on independent of the individual will—such as breathing, the circulation of the blood, and the like. So in the great companies of men, there are automatic motions of the community, tribe, nation, or mankind, which are not originated by the individual, nor even forethought in the consciousness of special persons; these are to the Body Social what breathing and similar things are to the Body Individual; they belong to social Instinct, not social Will. It is the business of statesmen to regulate the action of both the voluntary and the automatic forces of the collective mass, and make such a form of society as shall produce noble men, in the greatest number and of the best kind.

For the development of Society, their must be Government; that is, the social body must observe certain Rules of Conduct, called Laws, whereto all persons are held subject. There may be Customs which men hit upon, and become wonted to, and they are the consequences of an experiment, the product of history, the record of the past: or they may be the Ideal Aims of the people or the rulers, which anticipate experience, and are intended to shape and control the future—not representing experiments tried, but experiments in process. One is the Common Law, made, not enacted—a path worn by the people's feet; it is a public highway because men walk there; the other is Statute Law, enacted by conscious will, not made by actual practice—a road laid out intentionally by the surveyors. The people walk there because it is a public highway.

These two-fold laws may be just—conformable to the constitution of the Universe, the natural Rule of Right, and the reflection thereof in the moral sense of mankind; or unjust—contrary to that Higher Law of God and the conscience of man.

Human experience shows that all governmental power of one man over others is abused for the advantage of the holder thereof, and the hurt of those he holds it over, unless they have abundant means to keep him in check, and prevent his tyranny. Meanwhile, governors make bad laws. The private conscience of the ruler is seldom so good a check on his selfishness as the rod and the axe in the hands of the governed.

All society must have its government, that is Rules of Conduct, and Conductors to see that they are kept—Abstract Rules, Concrete Rules. The substance of government consists in these two, and is always the same; but the forms thereof vary much from land to land, and age to age; yet may they be thus grossly summed up in three:

I. Monarchy—The One-Man-Power; government over all, but by one, and often in practice it turns out to be chiefly for the sake of that one.

II. Oligarchy—The Few-Men-Power; government over all, but by a few, and often in practice it turns out to be chiefly for the sake of that few.

III. DEMOCRACY—the All-Men Power; government over all, by all, and for the sake of all. Yet, practically, it must be government by the majority, and in fact it often turns out to be chiefly for the advantage of that majority. As a general rule, no majority, no small body of men, no individual man, is ever trusted with unlimited power over others, but he abuses it—for his gain, to their loss. Such is the friction in all social machinery.

None of these three types anywhere appears simple; all governments are mixed. The most despotic monarchy is partly oligarchic, for King One cannot dispense with the help of the superior men; and if some of these be wiser and skilfuller than he, ere long it is they who govern, while he only reigns. And these able men, the Few, cannot prevent the automatic action of the social power in the great mass of men, who will instinctively, nay, who must of necessity, walk in new paths of their own, spite of the many statute roads which perplex the land, and the command to walk in them. Thus do the domestic elements spring up, wild flowers of humanity, where Oligarchs and Kings scattered only the privileged seed, collected by authority out of the court-house, and appointed to be sown in gardens.

So, on the other side, the most Democratic form of government will contain oligarchic and monarchic elements. The Democracy cannot enfeeble the powerful man; strong by nature, no position can make him weak. He will rule men just in proportion to his power, and, if wicked also, will rule them for his apparent gain and to their real loss. So companies of rich men, powerful by money, or of educated men, powerful by knowledge, will do much to control the majority who have only their naked members to rely on—must be counted, and not also weighed. If they likewise are wicked men, or but commonly selfish, they will sway the people with an oligarchic misrule. Thus, even in the national field, an "enemy," so men call what they do not comprehend, is continually sowing these tares among the wheat, which, though they suck the ground and check the grain, must yet not be pulled up, lest worse ill fall out thereby. Let not names deceive us; all monarchies have spots which are like democracies; and popular governments have institutions, at least practices, which are oligarchic, and even despotical. There are many points of resemblance between the Turkish despotism, the most rear-ward government in Europe, and our own Democracy, which we think the foremost in the world. Still, not misled by names, define the governments by their centre, where they are most distinct and faithful to this idea, not by their circumference, where they meet and blend, and you find these three—the One-Man Power, the Few-Men Power, the All-Men Power—each for the sake of one, of a few, or of all. At present, no one of these has combined the separate excellences of all the rest.

Now, man is a Progressive Being. This is true of the Individual who reaches his earthen limit of attainment in a short life, and dies; it is also true of mankind, which never dies, nor reaches the limit of attainment. You and I start as babies, and grow up to manhood; Mankind starts from naked, ignorant wildness—the babyhood of the human race—and grows up till the hindmost nations are what we bear of in New Holland and Patagonia, while the foremost are what we see in New York, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome. The whole of human History is evidence of this Progress. But even now, it depends chiefly on the automatic actions of mankind; once it was controlled entirely by them. It was an instinct, not a will, a thought, or even a conscious wish. Man was progressive, as the beaver was constructive, and the squirrel acquisitive. As you and I grow up from babyhood, and, though we take no thought, yet add whole cubits to our stature, so has Mankind made progress from wildness to the enlightened condition of the foremost people to-day.

This Progress of Mankind may be thus summed up. It consists in three things: I. The development of Personal powers in the Individual man—the ultimate atom of society. II. The development of Social powers in the gregarious mass. This is done by combining men into companies: first, there is the binary union of Him and Her, and at length the multitudinous compounding of four hundred millions, despotically welded into a Chinese empire—which is a stiff, unwieldy bar of iron; or of thirty-two sovereign States, federatively connected into one American Commonwealth—which is a chain of many links, alike flexible and strong. To develop these powers of Society, there must be National Unity of Action—the whole mass working as a well-harnessed train of men; and also Individual Variety of Action—each man enjoying his own personal freedom of nature. III. The acquisition of Power over the material world, which comes as a consequence of this personal and social development. This Power appears in two forms—1, that of Science, which is ability to know the forces of Nature in their present and past condition, and to foretell their future condition; 2, that of Art, which is ability to control the forces of Nature, and make them productors of Use and Beauty for our own purposes.

This Progress is generic of Mankind—not an exceptional, but an instantial, fact. The Human Race, taken as a whole, never goes back, never stands still. But yet, this advance of Mankind depends mainly on the automatic forces of Human Nature, it is directed less by the foresight of man than the Providence of God acting through the great instinct of individual improvement and social progress. Mankind could not prevent it; no more than all the babies of Boston could prevent themselves from growing up to manhood. But while this progress is continual in Mankind, dependent on organic causes which are out of our reach, there are yet fluctuations in individual men, and in particular nations, that stand still, or even go back. All round us there are good men who come to their growth and stop there, then decline, next die. It is the course of nature. But there are likewise evil men, who, by their vice, debar themselves from natural and healthy growth, and perish, immaturely old, and die not half grown. The same is true of States. I do not know that any nation has died a natural death of old age. Many adopt evil forms of government, with such ecclesiastical, political, social and domestic institutions as prevent them from advancing, force them to stand still, and so to perish. Here I notice two things.

I. In all progressive nations, there is a continual change in both the Form and Substance of Government.

(1) In its Form. The Monarchy tends to Oligarchy, the Oligarchy to Democracy. There is a popularization of Government, a progressive diffusion of power. Centralization yields to local Self-Government. This movement may go on by that regular slope we call Development—where the continuity of historic action never seems to be broke—or by those irregular stairs we call Revolution, which seems to interrupt the historic continuity of action, though it does not.

(2) In its Substance. There is a moralization of Government; statutes and customs conform more to the constitution of the universe; the roads laid out, the paths walked in, come nearer to an arc of that great circle which is the shortest distance between two points on the human sphere; the natural Rule of Right becomes the Rule of Conduct, and secures Justice, which is the interest of each and of all, the point common to me and mankind, to men and God.

This change is noticeable in all progressive nations, just as clearly as the swelling of buds, the opening of flowers, and the shooting forth of leaves, is distinctive of spring.

II. In a regressive or stationary people, the opposite takes place. There is a change in the form of Government—Democracy tends to Oligarchy, that to Monarchy; local self-government yields to centralization; political power is monopolized; Government by All shrinks to Government by a Few, that to Government by One. The change in the substance is of the same sort. Statutes and customs conform less to natural Justice; the Rule of Violence becomes the Rule of Conduct. This change is noticeable in all decaying nations. It is like the fall of the leaf and the tightening of the bark when winter sets severely in.

At this day, the Caucasians are the most progressive people on earth. Their most advanced and advancing nations are the Celtic French, who have made vast strides within a hundred years; and though now checked in the march, they will not stop long; and the various Teutonic people. Among these, the English and Americans are types of progress, representative nations. Not only have they the Instinct of Progress, and advance by this automatic action, but also the Idea, the conscious Will. They look forward to the end, and devise means to help them thitherward. In America, the most popular phrase is, "Go ahead." Nowhere has there been such advance in two hundred and fifty years. Think of North America at the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1608, and of the United States at the settlement of Sumner, in Kansas, in 1858! What growth of numbers, of wealth; what improvement of Institutions—ecclesiastical, political, social, domestic! What instinct of progress there is in the American people! What speculative desire for it, what resolute will, what practical action!

We have the foremost Form of political institutions, with local self-government as the Ideal; we take it for the equivalent of Freedom, while centralized government by others we look on as the same with Slavery.

This progress appears in many things—in Agriculture, Mining, Manufactures, Commerce—the four grand divisions of the Business World. You find it in all departments of thought; even theology is amenable to improvement. Unitarians, Universalists, Spiritualists, carry on the historic continuity of development, which reaches from the flight of Moses out of Egypt down to the meeting of this Anti-Slavery Convention.

Since this century began, there has been a great progress in the Political Institutions of all the Northern States. Constitutions become more democratic, customs and statutes are more just; condensed, centralized power is broken up and diffused abroad to many centres of local self-government. This progress in the Form and Substance of such institutions goes on with accelerated velocity.

But at the South, you do not meet with a similar improvement; nay, you often find the opposite. For Slavery has there a permanent welcome. That shoot from the Upas tree of foreign barbarism has been imported and naturalized there; with its pernicious shade it hinders the growth of the fair plant of Liberty, once set even in that soil. What was once a transient exception in the history of the North is become a typical institution there; it is a guide-board instance, pointing to the central peculiarity of the South. Under her control, the Federal Government also retrogrades in the same way, under the influence of the same exceptional cause. From the latter, I select three examples.

In 1793, the Federal Government took slavery under its special protection, passed the first Fugitive Slave law, according to Property in Men a guarantee it never gave to Property in Land or Things. Here it violated both the natural and the constitutional rights of the individual States, and adopted a vicious centralization of the most dangerous character. In 1836, the Supreme Court—which is also the purchased creature of the Slave Power—in the Prigg case, decided that the individual States had neither duties nor rights in this matter; but the United States might kidnap a runaway on any free soil of the individual States. In 1850, by the new Fugitive Slave Bill, the means of kidnapping were provided at the expense of the General Government, and man-stealing was made easy. In 1857, in the Dred Scott case, the Supreme Court decided that a colored man had no rights which the people were bound to respect, for he was not a citizen of the United States—of course, he could not receive a passport enabling him to travel on the European continent, nor command a merchant vessel, claim a citizen's bounty in the fishery, nor preëmpt a quarter section of the public land, nor exercise any of the other rights of citizenship; yet is he made amenable to all the laws whereof he is thus habitually put to the ban. Two Judges dissented from this iniquitous decision, as false in history, as unjust in law—Mr. McLean of Ohio, Mr. Curtis of Massachusetts: it gives me great pleasure to mention and extol his manly conduct then! This is the first example—what a striding backward for five and sixty years!

2. The Federal Government has taken special pains to acquire territory and put this exceptional institution in it. Look at Louisiana and the other States made out of the territory acquired from France; look at Florida, at Texas, Utah, New Mexico, Arizonia! What pains does the Government take to spread Slavery! That is the second example.

3. It assumes that Slavery is not only consistent with the nature of a Republic, but is favorable for its development. The Slave Power controls the Government, and continually declares that "free society is a failure"; that "Slavery is indispensable to a Republic." If the present and the past Administration—I mean, the Presidential and Senatorial Executive, with their manifold subordinates—are not personally of that opinion, they yet are officially, for all their acts look that way. Witness the attempt to force slavery into Kansas, whose whole brief life has been the history of violent attempts to inoculate her with that disease which even in their youth makes Virginia and the Carolinas decrepid—hindering their increase in men, their acquisition of things, and degrading their intellectual and moral character. So important does the present Administration think Slavery for political welfare that it not only allows Kansas, with but 50,000 inhabitants, to come into the Union as a Slave State now, but offers her enormous bribes if she will thus defile her maiden honor; while, if she insists on being a Free State, then shall she have no dowry at all, and shall not enter the national family until she has 93,000 inhabitants, in 1860, or 1864!

These are but three examples; I could count many more. All this wickedness comes from the adoption of Slavery by the Federal Government. Had it done nothing at all about the matter, taken sides with neither Freedom nor Slavery, how different had the nation now been! What if the Government had sided with Freedom! What a nation should we have become! What population, what industry—Agriculture, Mining, Manufactures, Commerce—should we see in the Southern States themselves—what intelligence, what morality!

But, strange as it may seem, the Constitution of the nation contains these words: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government" (Art. IV., Sec. 4).

These are not words of idle ceremony; "they are plain without any scruple, and absolute without any daring"; "prudent antiquity included much matter in few words." The only ambiguity is in the words, "Republican form of Government." What do they mean? Is Slavery consistent with a "Republican form of Government," in the constitutional sense of the phrase? If so, then it may spread everywhere, and include not only black men, but also red men, brown men, yellow men, and white men—for the color is but an accident of the skin, affecting the substance of no man's nature. But if "a Republican form of Government" be hostile to slavery, then, peaceably or forcibly, slavery must go down and perish utterly out of every "State in this Union." The question must now be decided, practically through custom, or intentionally by statute. It is the public who are to determine what the words mean; the Legislative, Judiciary and Executive are but attorneys, having only delegated and limited powers; while the People are the Proprietors and Sovereigns, with Eminent Domain over the premises of their vassals. The opinion of these attorneys is but advisory and provisional, while the decision of the majority of the People is declaratory and final.

Here, then, come the questions—(1) What is Slavery? (2) What is a Republican form of Government, in the constitutional sense? (3) Is Slavery compatible with a Republican form of Government? Let me say a word on each of the three. The first two are questions of definition, the last of comparison.

I. What is Slavery? I define it by its essence—Slavery is Property in Man. I make Dinah my slave. She is my property—her substance becomes my accident. She is no longer to be counted a person, with free spiritual or bodily individuality; she is a thing—"a chattel, to all intents and purposes whatsoever." Slavery is a condition contrary to Natural Right.

II. What is a "Republican form of Government"? Here the dictionaries will not help us, neither will the private opinions of distinguished men living at the time the Constitution was made, for it is notorious that such men as Franklin, Jefferson, the two Adamses, Washington, Madison, and others, differed very widely on this ideal government, indicated and guaranteed by these words. The common rules of interpretation are well known, and must serve us in this as in all other cases. We are to look at the Constitution itself, to interpret its words by reference to the Purpose which the People had in view in making it, and the Principles set forth in every document of like nature coming from the People. The interpretation of this clause requires only good sense, good faith, good head, good judgment; there is nothing mysterious in the matter.

I shall seek the means of definition in two documents which are the work of the People of the United States, viz., in the Constitution itself, which is professedly and on its face the act and deed of "the People of the United States," and in the Declaration of Independence, which is equally their free act and deed, though not set forth and published as such in the same manner and form; the Revolutionary War is the People's Vote for accepting the Declaration. I think these two papers are the act of the People of the United States as no other in our history. Now, the meaning of the words "Republican form of Government" is to be sought in the Constitution itself, though it occurs therein but once; yet the Declaration affords light to read the Constitution by, and as that is the older, let us look at it first, and then at the Constitution.

I. The Declaration of Independence is the National PROGRAMME OF POLITICAL PRINCIPLES, solemnly adopted by the Delegates and subsequently by the People themselves, as their Rule of Conduct in separating from the mother country and organizing their own voluntary and automatic powers into a new form of Government, and constructing its institutions. You all know the words; here are the principles, which, for convenience, I put into a philosophic form.

1. All men have certain natural and essential Rights; among them, the right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

2. Those Rights are unalienable, except by the misconduct and crime of the possessor thereof. One man cannot alienate another's rights.

3. In respect to these natural and unalienable Rights, all men are equal; with the rich, the educated, men of famous family, these rights are not quantitatively greater, or qualitatively more nice, than with the poor, the ignorant, and men born in the humblest place.

4. Governments are instituted to secure these natural, unalienable and equal Rights to all men.

5. These governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, that is from the majority of the inhabitants; and accordingly, when the government does not secure them, the enforcement thereof, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.

In this Programme of constructive Revolution, the government charter of American Law, these Principles are not referred back to any grant from Parliament, or King, to any statute Law, or rested on the foundation of any customs among men, or inductive reasoning of philosophers. They are founded not on the Facts of Observation in human History, but on Facts of Consciousness in human nature itself. Our fathers said, "We hold these truths to be SELF-EVIDENT." Young Mr. Jefferson furnished the popular words, but the Ideas were of New England, and had all been passed upon in the town meetings of Boston, and other little villages in Massachusetts, where Franklin and the two noble Adamses took and inspired them into the democratic young man from Virginia. New and strange to the world, when they were to have a great future, they were familiar to New England, when even then they had also a history. That is the first witness for definition: such his testimony. If the people were to establish such a government as would represent the sense of that document, a "Republican Form of Government" must be one which, in substance, secures to all men their natural, unalienable and equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and has the consent of the governed.

II. The next source is the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES itself. During the war, a Confederation was made, intended to be provisional; but when the Revolution was complete, something more lasting was needed. Institutions must be invented, organized and administered, which should apply the Principles of the Declaration to actual work, and incorporate them into the political life of the People. This could not be done directly by all the People; it must be by a few—the servants of the People. So a scheme of Institutions must be prepared. For that purpose, delegates were appointed in all the States, and a Convention held. They made "the Constitution," and proposed it to the people, who accepted it by rather a small majority of the popular vote. The servants who wrought it out confessed that it had great defects. Such was the opinion of Franklin, the ablest man in America, of Washington, the next most distinguished: many leading men in the individual States, who voted for its acceptance, disliked many things in it. Such was the case with Samuel Adams and John Hancock, then the two most influential men in Massachusetts. But it was accepted as "good for the present distress." There is much foolish and hypocritical talk now about the "sacredness of the Constitution," which would sound a little contemptible to Hancock and Adams, to Washington and Franklin.

Now, the Constitution is a POWER OF ATTORNEY, by which the People of the United States authorize their servants to do certain matters and things pertaining to the Government of America—i. e. to invent, organize and administer such Institutions as shall introduce these Principles of the Declaration into the actual political life of the People. All officers of the United States are sworn to keep the Constitution—i. e. to conform to that Power of Attorney, to do what it commands—of course, the agents of the People have no official authority, except what they receive under that Power of Attorney.

Now, this Power of Attorney contains two parts: (1) The Preamble, and (2) the Purview, the Seven Articles making up the body of the document.

1. The Preamble is a PROGRAMME OF PURPOSES, telling the People's agents what matters and things they are authorized and instructed to do. Commonly the preamble to a statute merely recites the historical occasion of that enactment; but the Preamble to this solemn act of the whole People is quite different—it declares the Motive, the *Animus propter quem*, and the Purpose, the *Finem usque ad quem*. These are the words: "To form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, ensure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common Defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity." Those are the things to be done. Nothing else is commanded or even permitted; and it is elsewhere expressly declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor inhibited by it to the States, are secured to the States respectively," to the People (Amendment, Art. X.). And again: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the People" (Amendment, Art. IX.).

This Programme of Purposes is unitary, in harmony with itself; and also consistent with the Programme of Principles in the Declaration.

2. The Seven Articles are a PROGRAMME OF MEANS for the attainment of the Purposes and the carrying out of the Principles mentioned before. These are not unitary. Some of them conflict with each other, some with the Principles and Purposes: but, in the great majority of cases, the means are in harmony with the ends proposed before. The others were exceptional—some of them were felt to be so at the time of making or adopting the Constitution, and hence the opposition to it in both the national and the State Conventions. But, to make clear that the natural and essential Rights of Man are to be carefully respected, to guard the rights of all men, the Constitution, in one most important particular, secures to the United States a right and a duty to watch over the institutions of the individual States, and guarantees "a Republican Form of Government." What do these words mean, in this place? Certainly they guarantee to each State such a Government as will accomplish the Purpose for which the People made the Constitution; and, of course, one which embodies and carries out the Principles that the Revolution was fought to secure. It must be a Government which tends to form "a more perfect Union" amongst all the People; to "establish Justice" for each person; to "ensure domestic Tranquillity" everywhere in the land; to "provide for the common defence" of the natural rights of all men therein; to "promote the general welfare" of all, the enjoyment "of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and "secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity." It is clear the People contemplate the establishment of such a Government, and nothing less. Words cannot make it more clear.

III. Now, compare Slavery and a Republican Form of Government. Slavery denies the slave all his natural rights; it is the abnegation of the self-evident Truths of the Programme of Principles; it is the nullification of the Ends proposed in the Programme of Purposes; it tends to destroy Union among the People; to establish Injustice; to prevent domestic Tranquillity; to hinder the common Defence; to disturb the General Welfare, and to annihilate the Blessings of Liberty, just so far as it extends. Not only is Slavery incousistent with a Republican Form of Government, in the constitutional sense of the word, it is so utterly hostile thereto that the two cannot live together, but one must destroy the other.

Yet when the Constitution was adopted, almost all the States had slavery within their borders; some of the men who set their names to the paper were themselves slaveholders. But these facts do not alter the meaning of the words, or their power; for we are not concerned with the opinions, or even the intentions of those men, but only with the opinions and intentions of the People of the United States, as expressed in the words of that document. The delegates in the Federal Convention which drafted the Constitution were simply the scriveners of the People, to draw up this Power of Attorney; the delegates to the State Conventions were but the agents to examine it, and give the People's assent thereto, or withhold it therefrom. The ultimate authority is the people of the United States. I know no act of theirs, at that time, which intimates an intention to keep slavery, or that they thought it consistent with the Principles of the Declaration, with the Purposes of the Constitution, or which wrests the words "Republican form of Government" from their plain and natural sense in the Constitution.

Some years ago, the Legislature of Massachusetts made a law forbidding lotteries in the State. Many of the delegates who supported the measure had lottery tickets in their pockets at the moment of voting. Does that fact alter the meaning of the statute? A Massachusetts Legislature prohibited the sale of liquor in the State, except for certain specified purposes, and in a manner provided for. Some of the men who voted for the liquor law daily used intoxicating drinks; others rented their shops for the sale their vote made illegal; the law has never been enforced in Boston; nay, the traffic has been more open and more extensive ever since; but do these facts alter the intention of the Legislature, and control the words of the statute?

It is well known that many of the leading men in the Convention, Federal as well as State, were hostile to slavery. I need not mention Franklin, Washington, Madison, Samuel Adams and John Hancock. What is still more important, it was the general opinion of the People that Slavery would soon end if let alone, and that it would be better not to kill it violently at once by direct blows, but to let it die of the incurable disease then supposed to be eating its vitals out. So they let it remain in the States, though the Principles of the Declaration, the Purposes of the Constitution, and the guarantee of a Republican Form of Government, were all hostile to it. The Northern States one by one removed this shameful exception from their institutions. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, acted with their party, and from time to time did deeds inconsistent with these Principles and Purposes, but their personal convictions still remained unaltered. When Madison and Jefferson read this clause in the preamble of the Constitution, "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and *our Posterity*," do you believe *they* limited its application to *white men*—to *their* posterity *born free*? They expected that slavery would soon end in all the States; and while, for the moment, they tolerated it as a measure of convenience or necessity, which either they would not or else could not then escape from, they yet denied it as a Principle of public policy and morals, and provided a clause in the body of the Constitution which would ultimately destroy it, and that without amending the Constitution itself.

But it is the words of the document we are to consider, not the opinions of contemporaries, or the conduct of individuals, parties, States, or the nation itself. It often happens that a false interpretation of a statute prevails for a long time. James I. knew this and said, "Let me make the judges, and I care not who makes the laws." The South knows it as well, and as wickedly acts thereon. In 1628, the British Parliament enacted the great Petition of Right to deprive the King of the power of imprisoning men without the process of law. Charles I. asked the Judge if that would prevent him from clapping in jail whom he would, without showing cause for it. Judge Hyde answered, "Every law . . . . hath its exposition, which is to be left to the courts of justice to determine"; "there is no fear of such a conclusion as is implied in the question." But would that false interpretation by wicked Judges alter the plain meaning of the "great Petition of Right"?

The common law of England did not change; under it, men were held as slaves for centuries—no questions asked; but in the Somerset case, Lord Mansfield fell back on the Principles of English Law, on the Purpose of English Law, and declared that slaves could not breathe in England—it had been said in the time of Queen Elizabeth. He knew what a change his judgment would make; that it overturned the decision of many judges, the practice of centuries; but he said, "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*" Justice *was* done, and the sky has not fallen yet.

[Conclusion next week.]

WE copy from *The Liberator* of last week the following brief, but deserved and feeling, tribute to the memory of the late E. G. LORING, whose death we announced in last week's STANDARD:

DEATH OF ELLIS GRAY LORING, ESQ.—We have the painful duty to record the death of ELLIS GRAY LORING, Esq., of this city, one of the earliest and most honored

Miscellaneous Department.

THE PASS OF DEATH.

It was a narrow pass,
Watered with human tears,
For Death had kept the outer gate
Almost six thousand years.
And the ceaseless tread of the world's feet
Was ever in my ears—
Thronging, jostling, hurrying by,
As if they were only born to die.

A stately king drew near,
This narrow pass to tread,
Around him hung a gorgeous robe,
And a crown was on his head;
But Death, with a look of withering scorn,
Arrested him and said,
"In humbled dress must the king draw near,
For the crown and the purple are useless here."

Next came a man of wealth,
And his eye was proud and bold,
And he bore in his hand a lengthy scroll,
Telling of sums untold;
But Death, who careth not for rank,
Careth as little for gold—
"Here that scroll I cannot allow,
For the gold of the richest is powerless now."

Another followed fast,
And a book was in his hand,
Filled with the flashes of burning thought
That are known in many a land;
But the child of genius quailed to hear
Death's pitiless demand—
"Here that book cannot enter with thee,
For the bright flash of genius is nothing to me."

Next came a maiden fair,
With that eye so deeply bright,
That stirs within you strange, sweet care,
Should you meet on a summer night;
But Death, ere the gentle maid passed through,
Snatched away its light—
"Beauty is power in the world," he saith,
"But what can it do in the Pass of Death?"

A youth of sickly mien
Followed in thoughtful mood,
Whose heart was filled with love to God
And the earthly brotherhood;
Death felt he could not quench the heart
That lived for others' good—
"I own," cried he, "the power of love,
I must let it pass to the realms above!"

—*Scottish Guardian.*

*EXPLORATIONS IN AFRICA.**

THE first effort in recent times to reach the interior of Africa from the west was that of Mungo Park, under the auspices of the African association in 1795 and again in 1804. He discovered and traced the course of the Niger for a considerable distance, when he was murdered with most of his large party. It was twenty years after this before another attempt was made, when Oudney, Denham, and Clapperton, starting from Tripoli, succeeded in penetrating far beyond the point reached by any previous traveller. They discovered a large river flowing eastward, which afterwards proved to be the Niger, and the great fresh water lagoon known as Lake Chad or Tsad. They also visited various parts of the semi-civilized kingdom of Bornou. But none of these intrepid travellers returned from a second journey; all became martyrs to African discovery, for death overtook them in the midst of their successful explorations. Lander, the faithful servant of Clapperton, alone succeeded in returning to England, taking with him the journals of the expedition.

The interesting discoveries thus made known stimulated farther efforts, and Lander, accompanied by his brother, was sent out. They reached Boussa on the Niger, discovered the river Tsadda, and succeeded in following the Niger to the sea. Another expedition soon after followed, under Mr. Laird and Lieutenant Allen, with two small steamers and a sailing vessel. They entered the Niger from the sea, reached the Tsadda, visited many of the great native chiefs and their cities, made important discoveries, and, after losing more than twenty of their party by disease, barely succeeded in making their escape from the deadly climate, and returned to England. Lander and Oldfield, who were in this expedition, remained and made some extensive journeys, which resulted in farther interesting discoveries.

One of the leading objects of the various expeditions was to reach Timbuctoo, a great city which stood on the Niger in Central Africa, and which was reported to be the most populous in that country. After the failure of Clapperton's second expedition, Major Laing, starting from Tripoli in 1826, actually succeeded in reaching this city. He remained there a month, but was murdered on his return, and his journals were lost. The year before, M. Caillée also reached it, and returned in safety; and although many doubted the truth of his statements, the Geographical Society of Paris, satisfied with their correctness, awarded him a prize of 10,000 francs.

It would take too much space to dwell on the many attempts which have been made during the last sixty or seventy years to reach Central Africa from Egypt and the East. The journeys of Bruce, towards the close of the last century, are familiar to all readers of travels; but during the last ten years the attention of the scientific world has been awakened in a remarkable degree to the hidden regions of this great continent; and though several have penetrated far into its recesses by the tributaries of the Nile, and added greatly to our knowledge of African geography in this quarter, none have reached the point in question. Without mentioning even the names of these intrepid travellers, several of which were connected with missionary societies, we will come at once to the discoveries of Dr. Barth, whose recently published volumes by the Messrs. Harper, of New York, have led us to lay these few notes before our readers.

Dr. Barth, Dr. Overbeg and Mr. Richardson set out from Tripoli, in the year 1849, for the interior of Africa. The latter soon after died. The others prosecuted their journey, and, after many hardships, reached the kingdom of Bornou. Dr. Overbeg, after exploring the great Lake Chad, died in 1852, leaving Dr. Barth alone to carry on the objects of the expedition, which he successfully accomplished, during a period of nearly six years, and returned safely to England in 1855. To his great work, which, in the London edition, will fill five large octavo volumes, and the American edition three volumes, we shall exclusively refer.

The first volume is chiefly occupied with journeys and explorations between the Mediterranean coast of Tripoli and the interior kingdom of Haussa. This embraces the Desert of Zahara, which, though often traversed by Europeans, has never before been so minutely described as by Dr. Barth. Indeed, this gentleman, from his thorough scholarship, his varied scientific attainments, and his knowledge of the oriental languages, seems to have been well fitted for the task before him. We will not dwell on his journey across the desert, although it is full of interest, but carry the reader at once to the great negro kingdom of Bornou, twenty degrees of latitude south of Tripoli, and in the very heart of the continent. This region had before been reached by Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney, twenty-five years before.

Here our traveller found himself in the midst of a country totally unlike that which borders the continent on the north. Large rivers flowing through rich agricultural regions; dense forests of strange and unknown trees; a luxuriant vegetation everywhere; cultivated fields in every direction, while large towns and cities, with a civilization indigenous to them, helped to give the whole a stamp which belongs peculiarly to Central Africa.

Mahommedanism and the civilization which accompanies it were introduced here several centuries ago, as appears by Arabian writers. Nevertheless, from the same authorities, it appears that long before Pagan kingdoms existed here and still exist beyond, where the religion of the crescent is known. Mahommedanism is still advancing southward, subduing and overturning Paganism, yet doing little towards improving the condition of the people, or checking those terrible wars which carry such destruction in their train, and which prove the only serious drawback towards the elevation of the people to a standard above that of their conquerors.

The first large city in the border district of Negroland proper, visited by Dr. Barth, was Tasawa, with 15,000 inhabitants. He says it made the most cheerful impression upon him, as manifesting everywhere the unmistakable marks of the comfortable, pleasant sort of life led by the natives. Their houses are built of clay and reeds, having little court yards, and shaded with spreading trees; while often they are enlivened with groups of children, goats, fowls, pigeons; and where a little wealth had been accumulated, a horse or pack-ox. All seem bent upon enjoying life; "everybody finds his greatest happiness in a country lass, and, as soon as he makes a little profit, adds a young wife to comfort and console his elder companion for life." How very kind and considerate these people must be, thus to provide for their aged companions! This is a reason which Brigham Young never gave for multiplying the female part of his household.

Katsena, another city, contained 8,000 inhabitants. This was an old place, having a circuit of about thirteen miles, and which Barth supposes once contained a hundred thousand people. The province which bears the same name contains about 300,000 people, and embraces not less than fifty towns of 4,000 inhabitants each. But this is one of many provinces, all equally prosperous, which our traveller visited. Their houses are generally of the same materials, differing only in style and arrangement. In some instances they are rectangular, having large apartments, much like the mud-built houses of Syria and Egypt, or like the adobe houses of the Mexicans; in other instances, they are circular, with pointed roofs. In several places were seen remains of brick buildings, belonging to an earlier period.

Cotton is extensively cultivated and manufactured into garments in most parts of this region; so that in all the towns the people are clad. With indigo, also cultivated here, many of their cloths are dyed; indeed, blue and white seem the prevailing colors worn. Sandals and other articles of leather are also common manufactures of the negro population, and are made in such quantities as to be exported to Northern Africa. Besides these manufactures, there is a great variety of other productions which enter into commerce, as gums, fruits, salt, natron, &c. Twenty thousand horse and ox loads of natron pass through the town of Kano annually, and in the caravan with which Dr. Barth came to Kano were 3,000 camel loads of salt.

Some of these great negro cities had regular market days, when the greatest activity prevailed. The animals exposed for sale were camels, horses, sheep, goats, asses and fowls; the chief articles besides these were fruits, rice, butter, milk, honey, millet, ground nuts, cotton shirts, indigo, tamarinds, red peppers, onions, salt, articles of leather, &c. Large numbers of slaves were likewise always offered for sale. The currency is strips of cotton, shirts, and small shells, like the cowries of the coast. Silver and gold are rare; yet silver dollars, the value of which is known, sometimes find their way there, and are taken by merchants to send back to Tripoli. The chief foreign productions in the market are Manchester prints, beads, trinkets, and paper. The people are generally shrewd, fond of trade, and, if certain foreign productions could be introduced from the South, through the Niger and its tributaries, this inland commerce could be greatly increased. With regard to Christianizing Africa, all travellers agree that they must first be civilized; to do which, commerce must be encouraged and extended. Livingstone and Barth, with Clapperton, Oldfield and preceding travellers, all agree in this, and show its necessity as well as practicability.

The most serious thing to encounter in Central Africa is the slave trade, the terrible effects of which are tending to destroy the germs of civilization and the prosperity existing there. This is tending to depopulate the finer portions, and in time must completely annihilate the weaker and defenceless tribes. The magnitude of the great slave-hunting expeditions was among the most remarkable things which Dr. Barth witnessed. He accompanied one led by the Sultan of Bornou, in which he was followed by an army of 10,000 horse and a large number on foot. These men are armed with bows and arrows, lances, clubs and a few fire-arms. A portion of the horse are beautifully equipped. The following presents a glowing picture of this negro army and the charming country they were pillaging:

"The country through which we passed was most charming and of a most expansive bound, exactly suited for pastoral tribes, while traces of cultivation and cotton fields were not wanting. The country being open, our army marched in an extended line of battle, separated into groups of the most varied description in attire and appearance; the heavy cavalry, clad in thick wadded clothing, others in coats of mail, with their tin helmets glittering in the sun, and mounted on heavy chargers, which appeared almost oppressed with the weight of their riders and their warlike accoutrements; the light horsemen clad in a loose shirt, and mounted on weak, unseemly nags; the self-conceited slaves, decked out gaudily in red bernouses or silken dresses of various colors; the Kanemula spearmen with their large wooden shields; then, in the distance behind, the continuous train of camels and pack-oxen; all the people full of spirits, and in the expectation of rich booty, pressing onward to the unknown regions of the south-west."

The result of this foray was the plunder of 10,000 head of cattle and 2,000 slaves. But the devastation of the country and the loss of life, in addition, was terrific. On the approach of this horde of 20,000 robbers, entire villages and towns were deserted, the people fleeing to the mountains or concealing themselves in the woods. Their towns were then burned, their property taken and the stores of grain laid up for future use, as well as that growing, was destroyed. Thousands of men were killed, often by cutting off one leg and leaving them to bleed to death. Female slaves and children were most sought after, each chief or governor priding himself on the extent of his harem. Dr. Barth once met the King of Bagirm in procession, having with him a string of forty-five black female partners mounted on horses, all clothed in white bernouses, while his shieks and vizier had from twelve to sixteen each, also mounted on horseback. The Sultan of Masena, a large city south of Lake Tsad, has from 300 to 400 wives.

One traveller met with another African gentleman, evidently an ethnologist, who had collected a harem of some 400 wives upon "scientific principles." "In assembling this immense number of female companions," says Dr. Barth, "for the entertainment of his leisure hours, he adopted a scientific principle; it was a sort of ethnological museum, which he had brought together in order to impress upon his memory the distinguishing features of each tribe."

When our traveller or others happened to mention the name of any tribe not familiar to the sable Mormon, the avaricious fellow lamented that he had no specimen of it in his harem, and at once gave orders to his servants to procure him a perfect specimen of this missing kind. When Dr. Barth showed him an ethnological book containing portraits of the different females of mankind, and pointed out a specimen of the white race in a beautiful Circassian woman, "with an expression of undisguised satisfaction" this African Brigham Young "told him that he had a fine living specimen of that kind.

The limited space of a newspaper does not allow us to enlarge on this interesting subject. We should like to speak of the great rivers flowing through the interior region, one of which, the Benuwe, is half a mile across; of the voyage on Lake Tsad, an inland lagoon as large as Lake Ontario; of the working in metals; of the cultivation of tobacco and its indigenous use; of the cotton plantations and other products; of the great cities with their 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants; of the Musgu nation, away in the far interior, whose sovereign can send 20,000 armed horsemen into the field; of the great ant-hills, thirty to forty feet high and two hundred in circumference, and of its strange and varied natural history. To those who read merely for the amusement of an hour, the narrative of Dr. Livingstone may be preferable; but those who feel an interest in, and desire to become familiar with, the vast and hitherto unknown regions in Central Africa should read the admirable volume of Dr. Barth.—*Providence Journal.*

* Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa; being a journal of an expedition undertaken under the auspices of the British Government in the years 1849–1855. By Henry Barth. 3 vols. 8mo. New York: Harper & Brothers.

MODERN FEMALE COSTUME.

THE madness runs riot in the gown (to use the old-fashioned word which is more distinctive than the technical use of the term "dress"). The consciousness of the whole public enables us to be brief on this head. When we enter on the topic of the gowns of 1857, every reader's "prophetic soul" warns him what animadversion to expect on tight waists, bare shoulders and arms, cumbrous and encroaching skirts, and an apparatus for their management which is in every way objectionable. The costliness, the clumsiness, the ugliness, the affectation, the stiffness, the noisiness, the complete reversal of the objects and attributes of dress in the "dress," evening and morning, of the present fashion, seem to be generally admitted; therefore we shall not insist on them at any length. The plain facts of the case are these. The gown of 1857 is made of the most expensive material obtainable. Ladies who used to dress handsomely on thirty pounds a year now find that sum insufficient for their gowns alone; and middle-class young ladies, who have hitherto been satisfied with twenty pounds a year, are now driven to their wits' end to keep up with the mode at all: and they have recourse to cheap showy silks that will not last, or light gauzy materials requiring a style of petticoat which makes the dress a costly one after all. Maid servants, who have before deposited something in Savings Banks every quarter, now feel morally compelled to buy twice as many yards as formerly for their gowns. "It is but ninepence a yard," the mistress says, when the gown is a print; but the gowns are not all prints; and if all require eight or ten breadths in the skirt, the difference at the end of the year to a girl whose wages are ten or twelve pounds is not small. Even the cheap-print gowns require so much making, and are so troublesome to wash and iron, that the custom is a tyrannous one on those to whom it weighs least. As for the most numerous order of its victims—that of middle-class ladies—this year, 1857, will be a mortifying or disastrous one in the family history of too many households. The cost of dress has become so disproportionate to other items of expenditure as to create serious difficulty in the homes of men of business, who have hitherto been able to provide their wives and daughters with whatever was needful to a moderate complacency. The rich silks of the day, under their various names, of which every lady now thinks one at least absolutely necessary, cannot be had for a wife and daughters, with the prodigious trimmings which are equally indispensable, under a less sum than would maintain a country clergyman, or half-pay officer and his family. The paraphernalia of ribbons, laces, fringes, and flowers, is more expensive than the entire gown of ten years ago. It is not our purpose, as we have notified, to go into the serious moral consideration of the case, or we might disclose a decline of respectability in this class, as well as in ranks above and below, which would make other hearts as heavy as our own.

Our readers can imagine, if they do not know, the process of decadence; exhausted credit, debt, secret gambling, in one shape or another, and even theft in the form of a great spread of shoplifting, and the purchase of stolen goods. Of these things we might say much; but our theme is the bad taste of the fashion. The middle-class man, then, finds his home and his garden too small. The if a leaf is inserted, the waiting-maid can hardly get round—a process the more difficult from the number of breadths in her skirt, and the extent of stiff cord in her petticoat. The most delicate flowers in the garden are cut off by the ladies' hems as they walk the path, and the little green-house is no place for such tragedy queens; they cannot move without knocking down half-a-dozen pots. If the children are young, the parent does not commit more than one at a time to the charge of the nursemaid, for a neighbor's child was actually swept into the water from a bridge by a stiff skirt which went flaunting by—the wearer being unconscious of the mischief. If he walks with his wife, he has to be on his guard all the time. If the wind blows, he is fettered by her superfluity of garments; and if it rains, no umbrella can cover them both. If the weather is settled fine, the lady's train raises a cloud of dust, and sweeps the path of all loose filth as they go. If they enter the parks, the steel rim of her petticoat cuts his leg as they squeeze through the narrow gate; and if they try the high road, there is too much probability that the whole apparatus may become inverted by a sudden gust catching the balloon. Umbrellas get turned wrong side out; and the existing skirt is much more easy to invert. If it is to be a drive, and not a walk, the good man runs the risk of being dismissed as a haughty actress dismissed an old friend. With a vehement prohibitive gesture she drove him back from the carriage-step, with "Pardon me—I and my dress occupy the carriage." The same women who in their youth marvelled at the slavery to fashion which had induced their grandmothers to kneel in the carriage for a drive of many miles to save their lofty head-dresses, now banish husband or father to the box, or compel them to walk, to make room for the accommodation of flounces and steel springs.—*Westminster Review.*

THE CHILDREN.

BY MARY HOWITT.

Beautiful the children's faces!
Spite of all that mars and scars;
To my inmost heart appealing;
Calling forth love's tenderest feeling;
Steeping all my soul with tears.

Eloquent the children's faces—
Poverty's lean look, which saith,
Save us! save us! woe surrounds us;
Little knowledge sore confounds us;
Life is but a lingering death.

Give us light amid our darkness;
Let us know the good from ill;
Hate us not for all our blindness;
Love us, lead us, show us kindness—
You can make us what you will.

We are willing; we are ready;
We would learn, if you would teach;
We have hearts that yearn towards duty;
We have minds alive to beauty;
Souls that any height can reach!

Raise us by your Christian knowledge,
Consecrate to man our powers;
Let us take our proper station;
We, the rising generation,
Let us stamp the age as ours!

We shall be what you will make us;
Make us wise, and make us good;
Make us strong in time of trial;
Teach us temperance, self-denial,
Patience, kindness, fortitude.

Look into our childish faces;
See ye not our willing hearts?
Only love us—only lead us—
Only let us know you need us,
And we all will do our parts.

We are thousands—many thousands!
Every day our ranks increase;
Let us march beneath your banner,
We the legion of true honor,
Combatting for love and peace!

Train us! try us! days slide onward,
They can ne'er be ours again.
Save us, save! from our undoing!
Save from ignorance and ruin;
Make us worthy to be men!

Send us to our weeping mothers,
Angel-stamped in heart and brow!
We may be our fathers' teachers;
We may be the mightiest preachers,
In the day that dawneth now!

Such the children's mute appealing;
All my inmost soul was stirred;
And my heart was bowed with sadness,
When a cry, like summer's gladness,
Said, "The children's prayer is heard!"

THE SLAVE TRADE IN TURKEY.

The newspapers gave an account, a few months ago, of the seizure, near Smyrna, of a slave-ship, and the liberation of the slaves it contained—one of those farces with which the Turks, from time to time, gratify their western admirers, and amuse, or rather abuse, the European public. No one, not even their bitterest enemies, can refuse them credit for the perfection to which they carry this art of throwing dust in the eyes of their too lover-like protectors; nor is their merit the less that their success can be accounted for by the consideration that it is the only art they deign to cultivate. Like the dangerous man of one book, they are masters in their one art. It is the Alpha and the Omega of their civilization—their way of expressing their regard for public opinion. To seem and not to be, is the problem which has been so successfully worked by the Sublime Porte for the last century and a half, especially for the last half-century.

England and English ambassadors—the only people who exercise a disinterested philanthropy in looking after the domestic concerns of the Turks—have labored for the last twenty years to persuade the sultan to abolish, in all its branches, this one of his peculiar institutions. It is instructive to mark the progressive steps by which the power of the charmer's voice has been made evident. First, the fair daughters of Circassia were ordered to be kept for sale henceforward only in private houses; then the slave-market, a large airy court surrounded by small rooms, and with some fine old trees in the centre, situated in the very busiest part of the bazaar, was ordered to be closed, and the human merchandise was transferred for sale to unwholesome, underground vaults, near Sultan Suleiman's mosque; next, under the pressure of war, the importation of white slaves was positively forbidden; and, finally, the traffic was declared to be abolished by an imperial firman. England and humanity had thus gained a notable victory—upon paper. The practical result of all these measures was that, last summer, the slave-market of Constantinople was so overstocked with white ladies that they had fallen to one-third of their usual price; while black slaves, plentiful as blackberries in autumn, were almost as valueless. Never since the massacres of Scio had the faithful been able to stock their establishments on such reasonable terms.

The fact is that the slave trade is at this moment as active as ever in all parts of Turkey, excepting in Egypt, if Egypt must be called Turkey. Its pretended abolition is only one of those paper measures to which the government has recourse periodically, to satisfy the exigencies of some Frank, generally English, ambassador. Thank Heaven! while the representatives of other nations are carefully watching over their own interests, ours is even more actively and less selfishly promoting those of others.

To attempt to abolish slavery in a Mahommedan country is no easy task, to pretend to do so when those Mohammedans are Turks under Turkish rulers is almost a desperate one. The abolition of male slavery would be difficult, but perhaps, with certain exceptions, not impossible; but to do away with female slavery would be striking at the root of Turkish society itself. It would be the subversion of domestic life as Turks understand it, alike opposed to their habits and to their religious ideas. The sultan has no wives; it is beneath his dignity to marry—he has no slaves; he is the son and grandson of slaves, bought in the market with "money current with the merchant." The hundred or two of white ladies who bloom in the parterre of his harem require a still larger number of black ones to wait upon them, for no respectable Mussulman woman in Turkey, however poor she may be, would accept domestic service. What is true of the sultan's harem is equally true, on a smaller scale, of the households of all his subjects. Free domesticity is unknown among women, and the small shopkeeper's wife, who with us would employ a char-woman or keep a servant-of-all-work, has in Turkey one or two slaves at her orders. Male slaves, black and white, are still more numerous than females, and they are the only servants who enjoy their master's confidence. We cannot imagine a Turk without slaves; he would be as helpless as a child. We have seen a Turk, one of the greatest men in the empire, ask one of his slaves who stood before him for his handkerchief. The slave told him he had it by him. The master fumbled on the cushions without finding it; the slave was not the less positive that he had it. He stepped forward to search for it, rolled his unwieldy lord first to one side, and then to the other, to see if it were under him, then he searched his pockets, and finally drew it from his waist-band. Abbas Pacha, for it was no less a personage than the late viceroy of Egypt, submitted to this search with an unconcerned air, which showed that it was a common affair; and, after five or six minutes employed in it, resumed the conference with the English consul-general which it had interrupted.

Our readers do not require to be told who are the unhappy creatures employed by the sultan and by all wealthy persons to watch over the morals of their harems, but it is necessary to refer to them, not only to denounce the inhuman treatment they have been subjected to, to qualify them for their degrading duties—and their number has of late years little, if at all, diminished—but still more to call attention to the monstrous perversion, little known or thought of in England, by which these poor wretches have become the official guardians of the "Prophet's" tomb at Medina, and of the great Mussulman temple in Mecca. The barbarous practice of which they are the victims has thus become elevated to a religious rite, not only connecting the institution of slavery with a religion whose fairest claim to our sympathy is the mitigation its author sought to effect in the condition of slaves, but making slavery, in its most revolting form, a part of the Mussulman ritual.

Yet, while we denounce the dishonesty of a pretended reform which can only deceive the wilfully blind, we have no wish to convey to our readers a false impression of the condition of the slave in Turkey. He is not, as a general rule, employed in field labors; he is not driven to work by an overseer armed with a lash; he is subjected to few privations, and he is not generally discontented with his lot. Bought at an early age, the young boys are employed only in the lightest tasks, such as presenting a cup of coffee, carrying a pipe, or standing for hours in silence with folded hands before their master. They are the playfellows of his children, with whom the white slaves are frequently educated. These often rise to high rank through his influence, and not seldom marry his daughters. Two of the present sultan's brothers-in-law were bought in the market of Constantinople. The slave is regarded as the child of the family—no odious distinctions of color are known in the east, though the negroes do not receive the same education as the whites, and a great man would hardly choose a black for his son-in-law. But even these, if accident advance them to office, as sometimes happens, become at once the equals of the proudest Osmanli. No idea of disgrace is attached to slavery—the black slaves of a great man regard themselves, and are regarded by him, as infinitely above his white hired servants. They belong to him; they are a part of himself; and if he give them their freedom, he provides for them, and the relationship of adoption does not cease. When freed, they become at once the equals of every one. The Turks are thoroughly democratic; they have no rank but that of service, no nobility but that of money. This is the tendency, or rather the condition, of absolutism, for the sovereign is not absolute when the subjects have rights he must respect; and the Turkish democracy is the most practical of all—it is the equality not of freemen, but of slaves.

Reared in domesticity, with no stimulus to industry, eating and sleeping without a thought of the morrow, the majority of the slaves are incapable of thinking or caring for themselves. To free them, therefore, is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted upon them. One of our friends in Cairo had long suffered in patience, or in silence, the whims and insolence of his wife's neutral attendant. At last, when his conduct became unbearable, neither exhortation nor threats having any effect, he determined to punish him. He did not sell him—he gave him his freedom. The poor useless wretch, when days went by, and he was not, as he supposed he must be, recalled to the house where he had so long been the tyrant, became as humble as he had been insolent, and going round to all his master's friends, besought their intercession for his restoration.

As a general rule, slaves are treated by their masters hardly indeed as reasoning beings, but with great kindness. As children, they may be whipped; but only great men venture to bastinado them when grown up. In fact, their masters are too completely in their power to venture to exasperate them by harshness. In the last two years we have known two men, one the governor of a town in Asia Minor, the other a wealthy merchant, murdered for their brutality by their own slaves. It was from two of his white slaves that Abbas Pacha received at last the wages of his misdeeds.

The female slaves, in the seclusion to which they are condemned, suffer perhaps more than the men. They are exposed to the caprices of their white mistresses or of rival favorites, and the ill-humor of their guardians often falls heavily upon them. We remember seeing, a few years ago, in Damascus, one of the black keepers of the sultan's harem. He was living there in exile with the rank of pacha, having fallen into disgrace for a manual correction administered to one of the reigning favorites, who had found means to persuade the sultan that it had been undeserved. On the other hand, no slave who has born a child to her master can be sold; her children, whatever their color, are regarded as legitimate, and come in for an equal share of their father's inheritance. If dissatisfied with their master, slaves of whatever color or sex can oblige him, or rather have a legal right to oblige him, to sell them. Of course such a right can rarely be enforced. We know that with all this kindness there may coexist a large amount of tyranny and brutality, and in a large establishment there may be no small sum of unhappiness. We have known slaves appear before the cadi to claim the right of being sold, but we have never known a case where such an appeal was successful.

It is not, however, so much the condition of the slaves in their master's house which seems to warrant the interference of Europe as the dreadful sufferings they are exposed to before reaching the market. The white slaves, at least the females, are exempt from these, and, since the Circassians choose to traffic in their own flesh and blood, and the Turks to violate the prescriptions of their religion, which forbids the purchase of Mussulmans, we need not perhaps insist upon a reform which Russia will sooner or later effect. But for the black slaves, we have a right to interest ourselves, because, helpless and unwilling victims, they are subjected to sufferings even more horrible than those disclosed recently by the capture of a slave-ship off Jamaica.

The Egyptian frontiers are now closed to this traffic, and Constantinople depends for its supply upon Tripoli. The slaves thence procured are brought from the interior of Africa, a distance of 1,000 or 1,500 miles, sometimes from even more distant countries. They are the victims of the wars carried on by the chieftains of the black states nearest to Fezzan, for the sole sake of the prisoners, whom they sell to dealers from the Turkish territories. Murder stains this foul speculation in the first instance, and yet this is the least of the horrors which disgrace it. The captives are forced to follow on foot the caravans of their purchasers through sands hot as a furnace in the daytime, and cold as ice at night. Men and women, boys and girls, without clothes to cover them, or shoes to protect their feet, journey on for weeks, sometimes for months, supplied only with the scanty food which suffices to ward off death, and often suffering horribly from thirst in a region where wells are rare, and the heat of the sun often dries up or corrupts the contents of the water-skin. On one route which the caravans follow there in a distance of twelve days from one well to the next, and hundreds of victims annually writhen the desert with their bones. If only half arrive, the profit is still so enormous that the loss seems trifling to the hardened wretches in whose eyes a slave is only merchandise. The survivors who reach Tripoli or Bengazi are carefully fed, that they may recover flesh, but they are still left in their almost primitive nakedness, shivering from the cold of a climate so different from their native tropics that the buyer may have ocular demonstration that they are really freshly imported. The Turks prefer slaves who have as yet received no instruction. The slave trade is the principal branch of commerce in Tripoli, and up to the present time it has been encouraged by the government in every possible way, even to the loss of more legitimate traffic. The number of slaves exported from Tripoli in 1854 was three times larger than under the independent deys twenty years previously. About a year ago, after the publication of the firman forbidding the trade, we had occasion to speak with a merchant whose house is on the south-west frontier of Tripoli, and who trades to Timbuctoo. "What will become of your trade now, if this firman is enforced?" was the question we asked. "It would be time enough to answer you," he said, "when the firman is acted upon; but in those countries there is no want of objects of traffic. Slaves are at present the most profitable; but when these will no longer pay, there remains ivory, gold-dust, ostrich-feathers, and many other commodities. The people of the inner country cannot do without the articles we carry to them, and they will soon find wherewithal to purchase them. God is generous." He seems little disturbed by the idea of the suppression of the trade; but whether from a conviction that this was not really intended, or from the confidence that other profitable investments would be found, we do not pretend to say. The goods exchanged for slaves are coarse cottons, paper, and small articles of hardware. It will be impossible to abolish the trade in men, with all its attendant horrors, so long as slavery is permitted to exist in any shape in Turkey. Only its final abolition can put a stop to importations which the authorities both in Tripoli and Constantinople are interested in encouraging. Even the sultan's ships-of-war are used for the conveyance of slaves.

We can understand the desperate efforts made by the Turk to maintain this institution; but we profess ourselves unable to understand or to forgive the lukewarmness in the cause of abolition of his European supporters. The very argument which induces the Turk to resist the attempt is the strongest that can be urged in its favor. The abolition of slavery would effect a radical change in Turkish society; and if we demand it on no other grounds, we should call for it on this one. If Turkey has become a European state, it can be permitted to take a place in the congress of Christian nations only on the condition of remodelling, not the government alone, but still more the social relations of its subjects. It is vain to hope for any real amelioration in these till slavery be abolished in every corner of the empire.

But if slavery be an essential institution of Islam, then we are bound to hunt the professors of such a creed out of Europe. Humanity has a right to be intolerant of a standing offence against her laws; and if she proclaim a crusade in their vindication, freemen of all nations and of all creeds will acknowledge that her object is holy. But this is not the case. Islam found slavery established, and it mitigated its rigors. In Tunis, slavery has for many years been entirely done away with—an unanswerable argument, by the way, in favor of the independence of the bey, whom our English policy seems inclined to reduce to his long-forgotten subjection to Turkey. If, on the part of the Turkish government, the desire to abolish slavery were sincere, and not a mere pretence to blind the people of Europe to the real nature of their rule, it would not be difficult to bring it about. The first step necessary is to cut off the supply. To effect this, a couple of steamers cruising off the coast of Tripoli, backed by more stringent orders issued to the English consul, would be sufficient; and the waters of the Mediterranean would no longer be stained by this traffic. The traditions of Islam itself would go far towards extirpating domestic slavery; for the Arabian prophet teaches that the granting his freedom to a slave is a meritorious work in the eyes of God; he even enjoins it as a propitiatory sacrifice on certain occasions. In the opinions of all pious Mussulmans, it is not lawful to retain a slave who has embraced Islam in servitude more than a short number of years. It would therefore be enough to forbid the sale of slaves from this time forwards, either publicy or privately, and to decree the freedom of all slaves whatever after the lapse of a brief term. This would lead to their speedy emancipation; for their masters would in general rather free them at once of their own accord than allow them to acquire their liberty as a right. Of course the law prohibiting the sale of slaves must be accompanied by the fixing of express punishments for its transgression; its mere publication and communication to the European ambassadors would give it no efficacy.

The Turks are too thoughtless to consider the sufferings of the poor slaves before they reach their hands; they only remember that they were idolaters, and that they have made them Mussulmans. They are persuaded that God has put them into their power that they may save their souls. There is every excuse to be made for the Turks, who seek to evade a change which would revolutionize their habits of life, and whose necessity as a matter of humanity they cannot appreciate; but there is no excuse for their government, which thus scatters firmans broadcast over Europe, for the sake of propitiating a public opinion which it seeks to deceive; and still less is it possible to excuse the Christian diplomacy which stands smiling by and winks, lending the sanction of its silence to the bad faith of its protégés.—*Chambers's Jour.*

ROBESPIERRE ON DUELLING.

THE following speech was delivered by Robespierre before the Jacobin Club only one or two years before he developed, in his own person, the character of a monster of cruelty; when, under his orders, "Paris witnessed eighty executions every day, when the quarries were choked up with dead, and when there was needed a reservoir purposely to carry off the blood of victims!"

The subjoined article is taken from a London paper of September, 1790:

"PARIS, August 18, 1790.

"CLUB DES JACOBINS.—A few hours after the meeting which took place on the 13th inst. between M. Cazales and M. Barnave, this last gentleman presented himself to the Club of the Jacobins, of which he was President at that time, and gave an account of his duel, with that modesty which so well suits talents, victory and high-spirited youth. He discovered the fatal error he had been brought into, and the false point of honor which had engaged him to commit an action contrary to every principle of morality and of law. He announced to the members of the club that he was determined to acknowledge his error before the National Assembly, and to solicit a decree to proscribe duelling hereafter.

"M. Robespierre, another member of the club, and of the National Assembly, celebrated for his genius and eloquence, spoke on the same subject in the following terms:

"'Gentlemen: I cannot refuse to the generosity of mind and strength of reasoning of the honorable gentleman who has just spoken on a subject so interesting to society, the eulogium he deserves. Undoubtedly the National Assembly ought and will pass a decree against duelling. It is a barbarous relic of that chivalry which, in other respects, we have so nobly abolished. Be not deceived, gentlemen, you have in this case a very old prejudice to subdue; it will not be abolished by a simple decree of the National Assembly, and nothing can so effectually destroy it as a great example.

"'While Mr. Barnave displays his talents and exerts his eloquence to extirpate forever the savage and horrid custom of duelling, I propose to decree that a civic crown shall be presented to that great prince, to that Christian hero and worthy legislator, who has endured, with a courage and magnanimity beyond example, and almost above belief, the redoubled insults which those who are envious of his glory, and his unparalleled virtues, have offered him. This greatness of soul, foreign to the principles and conception of the generality of men, merits greater encomiums from an assembly of philosophers and legislators than that ferocious disposition sung into heroism by our bards. That great man has done more for his reputation by the mildness of his temper than all his forefathers by their achievements. What, indeed, can be greater in human nature than a man rendering himself superior to insult?'

"The eloquence of M. Robespierre influencing the hearts of all the Jacobins, it was echoed unanimously from every part of the room, 'Long life to M. d'Orleans, who, first among the Bourbon race, has trod on the Gothic prejudices of chivalry.'"

Cazales, who was engaged in the duel with Barnave, referred to above, was distinguished for his chivalrous defence of the nobility, and as one of the most brilliant orators of the National Assembly. Barnave was a republican, in sympathy with Lafayette, who also was a member and the leader of the Jacobin Club, until a short time before it fell under the control of Robespierre, Danton and Marat, the bloody triumvirate who inaugurated and were the master-spirits of the Reign of Terror.—*Eve. Post.*

AN EXECUTIONER'S LITTLE BILL.

THE following notice of the doings of the hands of justice, in a neighboring country, in the year 1712, may not be without some historic interest; and certainly it is calculated to make one rather contented than otherwise with the state of Europe in 1858. In the year 1712, it was the custom in Amsterdam to make use of the services of an executioner from the neighboring town of Haarlem; and in order to avoid the expense of repeated journeys, the worthy magistrates contrived that the various sentences of the criminal law should be carried out as much as possible on the same day. The following is the little bill of the Haarlem Calcraft for the work of a single day:

AMSTERDAM, Dec. 17, 1712.
To account for business done.

	Florins.
To one beheaded	6
Item for the use of the sword of justice	3
Item for the cloth	3
Item for the coffin	3
To one strangled	6
Taken down and put into the coffin	3
To one put on the wheel, with nine strokes, at 3 gulden the stroke	27
For the strangling	6
Taken down and carried out of the town	9
To two hanged with a sword over their heads	18
One taken down, and carried out of the town	9
One taken down	3
To four hung on the gallows, at 6 gulden apiece	24
One with a sword over the head	3
Two with letters on their breast	12
To four-and-twenty scourged, at 3 gulden apiece	72
Three with the sword over their heads	9
One fettered, and set in the pillory	6
One branded on the back	6
Item wages	12
Item road-money	12
Item for the use of the rope	12
Item for the assistant	12
Amount	276

All this, we repeat, was the work of a single day, and it came off in one public place—before the town-house of Amsterdam. The account seems to have suggested to the citizens of the time merely that the hangman-business was a thriving one (dat zulk eene executie eene goede neering zy). To us in our day and generation, it is an interesting document, as a fragment, and a genuine one, of the history of those days which people in Holland and Germany, and some other parts of the world too, are wont to call the "good old times."—*Chambers's Journal.*

FIRST MEETING OF DICKENS AND THACKERAY.

THE inauguration of the annual exhibition of pictures and sculpture, at the Royal Academy of England, was celebrated on the first of May by the usual anniversary festival. Sir Charles Eastlake, the President, gave, as the last toast, the health of Messrs. Dickens and Thackeray, who responded as follows:

MR. DICKENS.—"Following the order of your toast, I have to take the first part in the duet to be performed in acknowledgment of the compliment you have paid to literature. In this home of art I feel it to be too much an interchange of compliments, as it were, between near relations to enter into any lengthened expression of our thanks for the honor you have done us. I feel that it would be changing this splendid assembly into a sort of family party a [laugh]. I may, however, take leave to say that your sister, whom I represent, is strong and healthy [a laugh]; she